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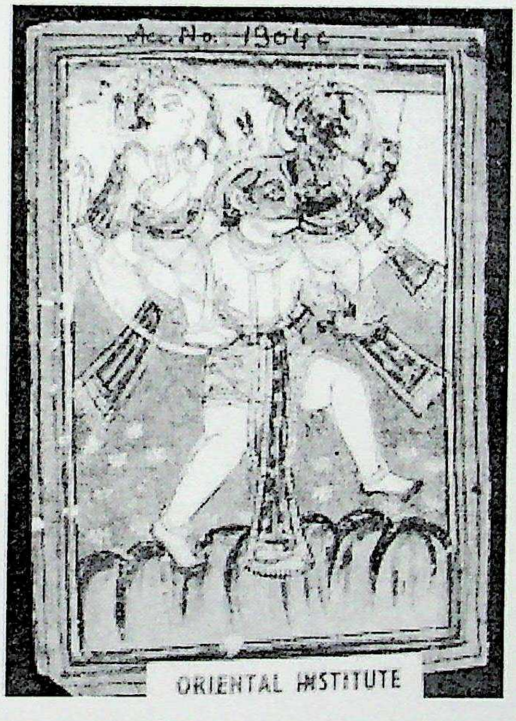
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RAJENDRA I. NANAVATI
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Journal
of the
Oriental Institute
M. S. University of Baroda

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March-June, 1998

LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE FOR A PREHISTORIC EURASIAN EMPIRE OF "3 RACES AND 1 LANGUAGE"

BENON Zb. SZALEK*

This paper summarizes my work in the field of comparative linguistics, conducted since 1974 [5-19]. The extensive "Narmini" report [19], prepared for print, contains 145 pages with linguistic examples, supporting my conclusions. Let's look at some irritating linguistic facts connected with Eurasian languages spoken by nations of different races. Our point of departure will be the family of Dravidian languages [1, 2, 3] - represented in this paper - for simplicity reasons - by Tamil.

It is possible to detect in Tamil many ancient words and grammatical constructions similar to ancient words and grammatical constructions in the Basque and Ugrofinnish languages (white race). First of all let's look at some lexical Basque-Tamil examples (Tab. 1, Ill. 1 and 2). It is also possible to construct parallel expressions and phrases in Basque and Tamil, e.g. :

Basque :	TANTAI	ALA	URI
Tamil :	TANTAM	ALLATU	ŪR
	stick, branch shaft	or	town

Basque :	MOKO	ALA	SOLAS
Tamil :	MŪKKU	ALLATU	SOL
	Beak	or	word

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* Poland, 70-444 Szczecin ul, Mazurska 20 m. 7

It must be accentuated that Basque is spoken since thousands of years by people of white race living at the western extremity of the Eurasian continent, on the Atlantic coast (French-Spanish bordc).

The Dravidian/Tamil-Ugrofinnish (Hungarian and Finnish) similarities can be illustrated by means of many examples. Are the analogies of old Tamil and Hungarian (white race) words, represented in Ill.3 to be regarded as coincidental ? We can detect the same kind of similarities in Tamil and Finnish (closely related to Hungarian). The analogies are represented in Tab. 2. The analogy of Tamil and Finnish words, selected on the basis of similar pronunciation, is being shown in Ill. 4.

It is possible to construct similar expressions-both in Tamil and Finnish :

Finnish :	HARVA	NÄKY	NÄKEMÄ	
Tamil :	ARU	NŌKKAM	NŌKKAM	
	rare	sight	look	
Finnish :	VÄÄRÄ	SÄIHKY,	KOTI	KATU
Tamil :	WĒRU	SĀY	KUTI	KATAWAI
	bad	shine	house	street
Finnish :	VÄÄRÄ	KÄYTÄVÄ		
Tamil :	WĒRU	KATAWU		
	bad (faulty, alien)	way, path		

Until now we examined the Dravidian/Tamil - Basque and Ugrofinnish similarities. However it is possible to demonstrate numerous examples of lexical and grammatical similarities between Dravidian/Tamil and Japanese (spoken by a nation belonging to the so called "yellow race"). First of all let's look at some lexical analogies (old words), grouped by means of common criteria (Tab. 3). Certain old Dravidian/Tamil words differ a bit because of omission of a consonant (Tab. 4). The analogies become striking when we investigate the words grouped on the basis of similar pronunciation (Ill. 5). Many interesting analogies are to be found in the field of grammers, e.g. Tab. 5 and 6.

The most impressive similarities of both lexical and grammatical character can be shown by means of simple scenes (Ill. 6).

Until now presented scheme of linguistic similarities is shown in Ill. 7. It is possible to add to this scheme many irritating Japanese-Basque, Japanese-Ugrofinnish and Ugrofinnish-Basque linguistic connections. First of all let's investigate the Japanese-Basque similarities. The lexical (words grouped by themes) analogies are being shown in Tab. 7. Other similar Basque and Japanese words can be seen in Ill. 8. Many Basque and Japanese expressions are very similar or identical (Tab. 8). The Basque-Japanese similarity of grammatical rules allows the construction of similar expressions and phrases :

Basque :	HATSE	AN
Japanese :	HATSU	NI
	the beginning at	

Japanese :	URUOI	TOKORO	,	URUOI	TORI
Basque :	UR	TOKI	,	UR	TXORI
	watery, wet	place	,	water/wet	bird

Japanese :	IRU	TOKORO	,	UMU	TOKORO
Basque :	ERRE	TOKI	,	UME	TOKI
	burning	place	,	giving birth	place of

Basque :	TXORI	TA	ANAIA	BAKARRIK
Japanese :	TORI	TO	ANI	BAKARI
	bird	and	brother	only

Basque :	HORI	HATSEA	DA
Japanese :	KOREwa	HATSU	DA
	this	the beginning	is

It must be stressed that these similarities of old words and grammatical constructions appear in the languages of two racially completely different nations, living at the extremities of the Eurasian continent for thousands of years.

There is also a very distinct Japanese-Ugrofinnish linguistic connection. The similarity of old Japanese and Hungarian words is being shown in Tab. 9. The Japanese - Hungarian analogy of grammatical rules allows the construction of almost identical expressions and phrases :

Hungarian :	JÓ	HATÁR	,	JÓ	KOR
Japanese :	YOI	HATA	,	YOI	KORO
	good	field	,	(in) good	time

Japanese :	YOI	USI	o	UTTA
Hungarian :	JÓ	ÜSZÖT		ÜTÖTT
	good	cow	he	hit

The other Ugrofinnish language-Finnish-allows the construction of relatively long expressions and phrases almost identical to Japanese equivalents :

Japanese :	TERI	YA	EMI
Finnish :	TERÄ	JA	HYMY
	sunshine (sun's disk)	and	smile

Finnish :	KOVA	KAINALO	JA	KARVAS	TUOKIO
Japanese :	KOWAI	KAINA	YA	KARAI	TOKI
	hard	hand	and	bitter	time

Japanese :	WARUI	KURUMA	YA	KOWAI	KAINA	-WARUI	TOKI
Finnish :	VÄÄRÄ	KUORMA	JA	KOVA	KAINALO	-VÄÄRÄ	TUOKIO
	bad	cart	and	hard	hand	-bad	time

The scheme of connections shown in Ill. 7 may be completed (Ill. 9) by the fact, that the languages spoken by nations of white race (Basque, Hungarian, Finnish) -contain the same old words (Tab. 10) and allow the construction of similar expressions :

Basque :	ENE	HAGA
Hungarian :	EN	AGAM
	my	brnach

A simultaneous analysis of 3 or 4 discussed languages confirms their relationship :

1. The same grammatical constructions - e.g. for "of ..." :

Basque :	... EN
Tamil :	... IN ... N
Japanese :	... NO
Finnish :	... N
	of ...

2. Similar old words - e.g. :

NÖKKAM	- look	(Tamil)
NAGAME	- sight, view	(Japanese)
NÄKY	- sight, view	(Finnish)
NÄKEMÄ	- look	(Finnish)

KUBI	- pumpkin	(Basque)
KUBI	- head, neck	(Japanese)
KOBAK	- head, bottle-gourd	(Hungarian)

URI	- rain	(Basque)
URAI	- rain	(Tamil)
FURI	- rainfall	(Japanese)

3. Similarity of words in spite of the omission of first consonants - e.g. :

ORO	- all	(Basque)
MUṚU	- all	(Tamil)
MORO	- all	(Japanese)

MURA	- village	(Japanese)
ŪR	- town, settlement	(Tamil)
URI	- town	(Basque)

4. Simplification or reduction of words - e.g. :

Finnish :	KAINALO	-hand
Japanese :	KAINA	-hand
Tamil :	KAI	-hand

The above presented examples prove a systematic analogy of old words and grammatical rules in languages spoken by racially different nations (Dravidian, Japanese, Basque and Ugrofinnish) living now at the outskirts of the Eurasian continent. This kind of similarities (both of lexical and grammatical character) cannot be explained by common origin of these nations or trade contracts. For words may be borrowed-but why should a nation of one race borrow grammatical rules from a nation of another race ? This enigma could find an explanation in the existence of a prehistoric powerful political/religious/cultural structure (empire?, state?), able to make some nations of different races assume one and the same language as their own. A similar situation is to be found in contemporary North America, where the black citizens, descendants of different African tribes use only one language-English.

The predecessors of the discussed nations (Dravidian, Japanese, Basque, Ugrofinnish) must have lived in the same area controlled by the same political or religious power. Of course, we know many facts about migrations of Dravidian, Japanese and Ugrofinnish nations - the "starting place" seems to have been situated somewhere in Central Asia. In order to establish some chronological frames for this supposed empire (or community) we may apply the technique of glottochronology-as elaborated by M. Swadesh [4] (errosion of a set of 100 basic words against a time scale). The technique of glottochronology is not totally reliable-but as there is not better linguistic tool for reconstruction of chronology-lets have a look at the results of its application. The matric (B, T, J, H, F-first letters of respective languages) below shows thousands of years B.C. -meaning the time of separation of discussed languages (Ill. 10). The supposed empire with a population consisting of predecessors of Dravidian, Japanese, Basque and Ugrofinnish nations must have existed until 7500-5000 B.C. - when the linguistic links between the Basque and Ugrofinnish nations were disrupted. The breach of the Dravidian-Ugrofinnish relation could be dated about 4000/2500 B.C. At that time the supposed empire consisted of predecessors of Dravidian, Basque and Japanese nations - they spoke the same language. The Dravidian-Basque link was broken 2000 B.C., and the rest of links (Dravidian-Japanese, Japanese-Basque) - about 1500 B.C. It may be a coincidence-but the last date seems to correspond with the fall of Dravidian empire in the Indus Valley [11, 15, 16]. According to historians the fall of the Indus Civilization was caused by Indoeuropean invaders. Is this civilization to be regarded as the remnant of the prehistoric empire of "3 Races-1 Language" ?

I think that the above 1-1 mentioned linguistic facts should be checked by means of archaeological research.

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Tables

Tab. 1.

	Basque	Tamil
my	ENE	En
wood	MAIRAN	MARAM
to burn	ERRE	ERI
water	UR	ŪRAL

Tab. 2.

	Tamil	Finnish	
brightness	TĒRU	TERÄ	sun's disk
shine	SĀY	SÄIHKY	shine
to shine	WILANKU	VÄLKYÄ	to shine
to burn	{ TAKI	TAKKA	to roast
	SUTU	SYTTYA	to burn
sth charred	KARI	KARSI	soot, lampblack

Tab. 3.

	Tamil	Japanese
to gather, join	KUWAWU	KUWAWARU
to gather	KUMI	KUMU
to tie	SIMIṚ	SIMERU
to divide	WAKIR	WAKERU
to cut off	TATI	TATSU
to cut	KIIRU	KIRU
to rape with a sickle	KAṚI	KARU

Tab. 4.

	Tamil		Japanese
foam	P	AWWAM	AWA
to get	P	ERU	ERU
big	P	ERU	ERAI

Tab. 5.

	Tamil	Japanese
he did	SEYTĀN	SITA
he, who did	SEYTA	SITA
doing, having done	SEYTU	SITE
do !	SEY !	SEYO !

Tab. 6.

	Tamil	Japanese
(movement to...)	... Ē	... E
(whose ?)	... N ... IN	... NO
(plural)	... R	... RA
also	... M	... MO

Tab. 7.

	Basque	Japanese
beginning	HATSE	HATSU
female	EME	ME
to bring forth	UMA	UMU
delivery	UME	UMI
UTERUS (place of delivery	UME TOKI	UMU TOKORO
to appear	AGER	AGARU
place of appearance	AGER TOKI	AGARU TOKORO AGERU TOKORO
brother	ANAIA	ANI
elder sister	AÑA	ANE

Tab. 8.

	Basque	Japanese
yes	BAI	HAI
exactly so !	KITTO	KITTO
take !	TORI !	TORO !
is	DA	DA
this only	HORI BAKARRIK	KORE BAKARI
this !	HORI DA !	KORE DA !

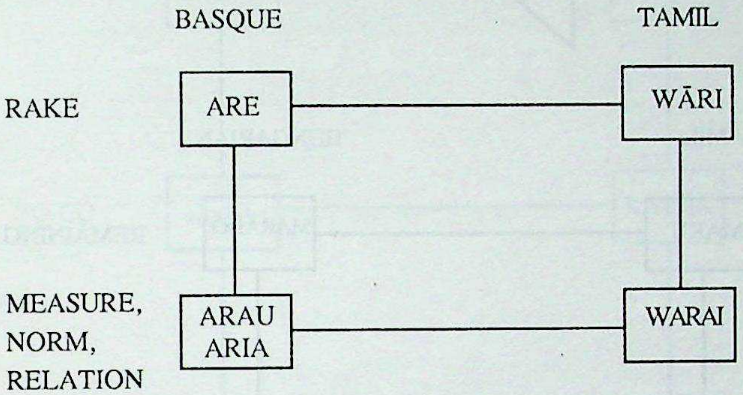
Tab. 9.

	Japanese	Hungarian
to obtain	ERU	ER
cover, lid	FUTA	FEDÖ
rim, edge	HATA	HATAR
field	HATA	HATAR
result	HATE	HATAS
end, effect	HATESI	
good	YOI	JO
time	KORO	KOR
to roll	KOROGARU	GÖRÖG

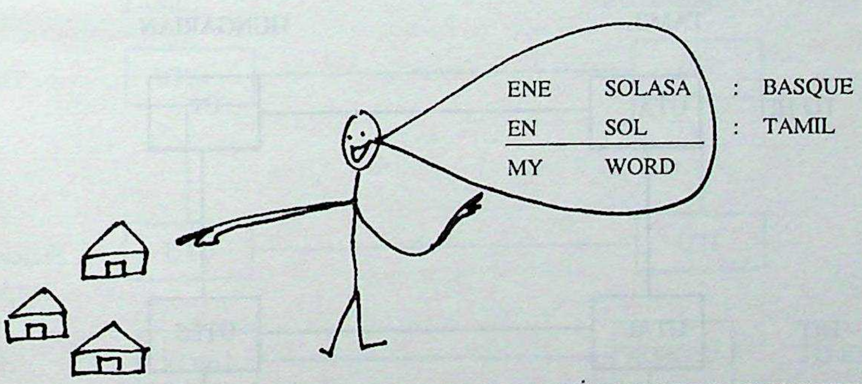
Tab. 10.

	Basque	Finnish	
faulty	AJE	HÄIJY	bad
moment	TAKADA	TUOKIO	moment
female	EME	EMÄ	female
bitter	GARRATZ	KARVAS	bitter
cry	NIGAR	NYYHKIÄ	to cry

ILLUSTRATIONS

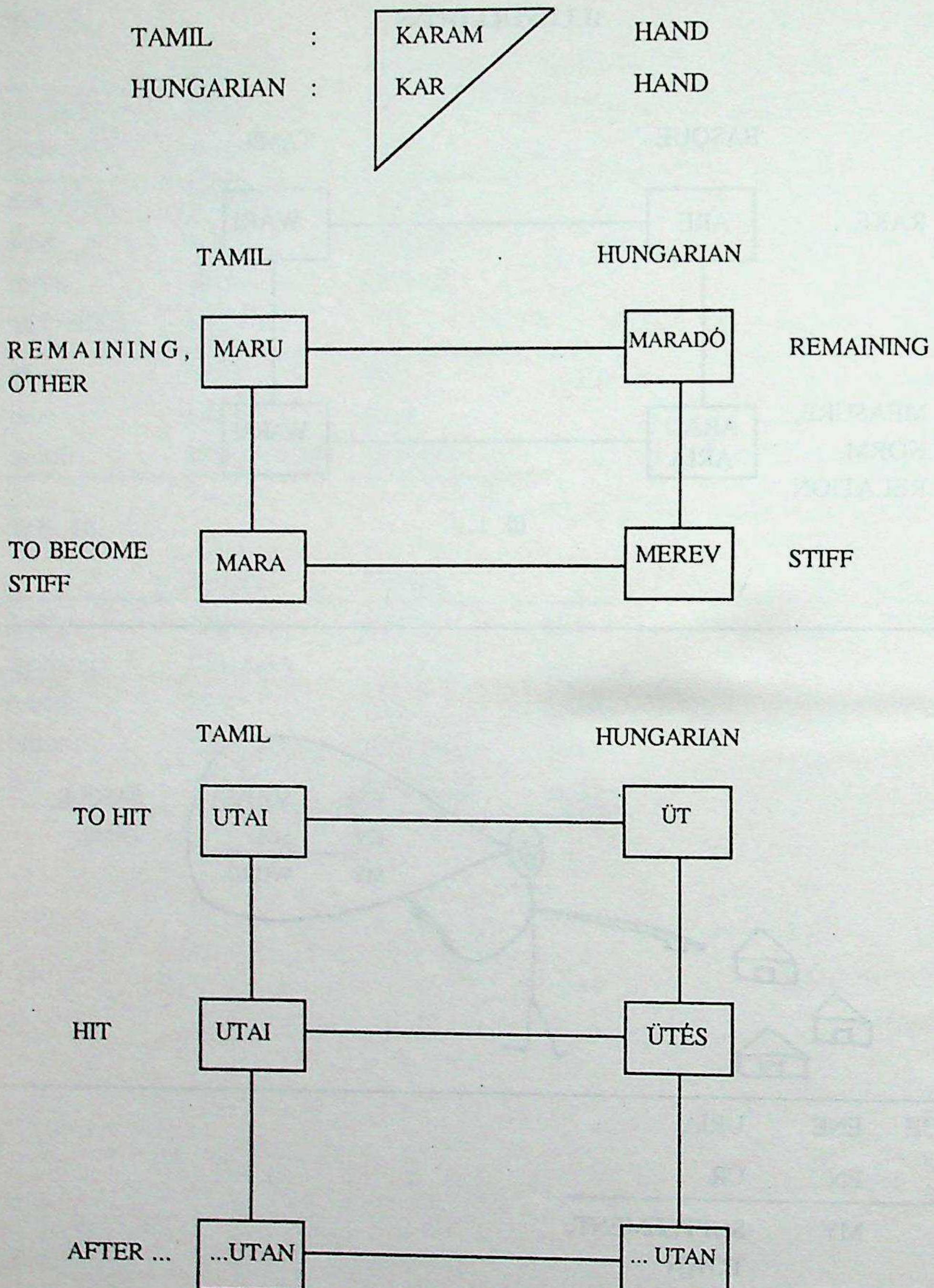

BASQUE
TAMIL
RAKE
ARE
WĀRI
MEASURE, NORM, RELATION
ARAU ARIA
WARAI

Ill. 1.

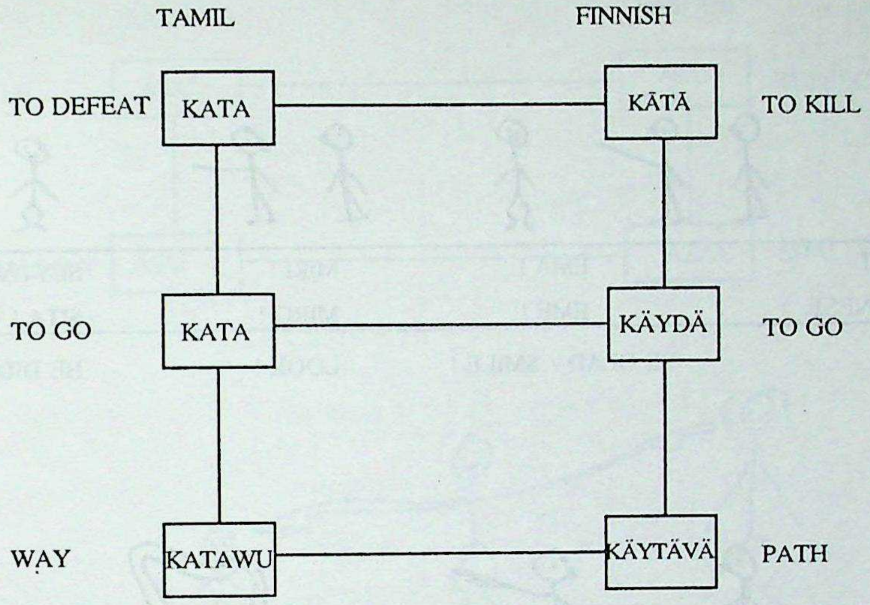

ENE SOLASA : BASQUE
EN SOL : TAMIL
MY WORD

BASQUE :	ENE	URIA
TAMIL :	EN	ŪR
	MY	SETTLEMENT, TOWN

Ill. 2.


TAMIL : KARAM HAND
HUNGARIAN : KAR HAND
TAMIL
HUNGARIAN
REMAINING, OTHER
MARU
MARADÓ
REMAINING
TO BECOME STIFF
MARA
MEREV
STIFF
TAMIL
HUNGARIAN
TO HIT
UTAI
ÜT
HIT
UTAI
ÜTÉS
AFTER ...
...UTAN
... UTAN

Ill. 3.


TAMIL
FINNISH
TO DEFEAT
KATA
KĀTĀ
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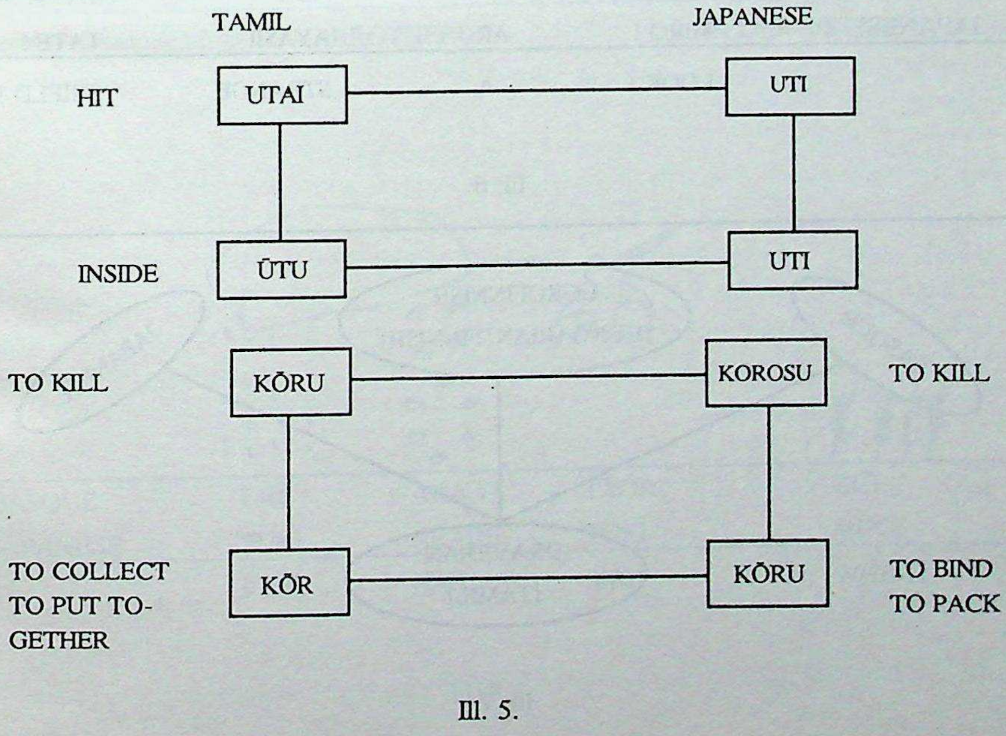
TO GO
KATA
KÄYDÄ
TO GO
WAY
KATAWU
KÄYTÄVÄ
PATH

Ill. 4.


TAMIL
JAPANESE
HIT
UTAI
UTI
INSIDE
ŪTU
UTI
TO KILL
KŌRU
KOROSU
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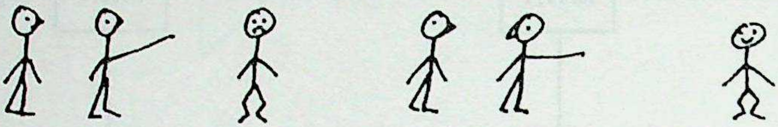
TO COLLECT
TO PUT TO-
GETHER
KŌR
KŌRU
TO BIND
TO PACK

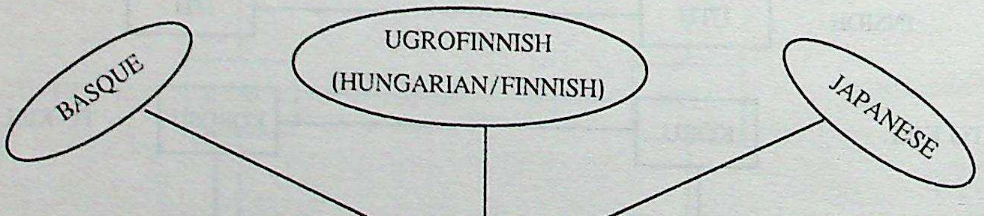
Ill. 5.



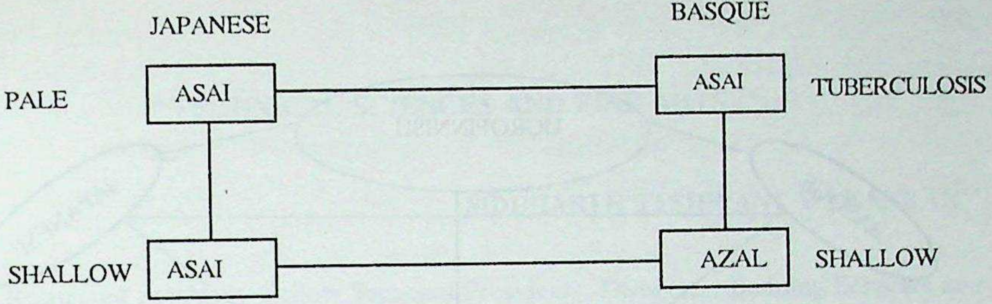
TAMIL :	ĒMĀ !	MIṚI !	SEYTĀN !
JAPANESE :	EME !	MIRO !	SITA !
	BE GLAD / SMILE !	LOOK !	HE DID !

TAMIL :	MIṚI !	ORU	AIJA	TATTI !
JAPANESE :	MIRO !	ARU	AYASII	TATE !
	LOOK !	A	STRANGE	SHIELD !

Ill. 6.


BASQUE
UGROFINNISH (HUNGARIAN/FINNISH)
JAPANESE
DRAVIDIAN (TAMIL)

Ill. 7.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PALE
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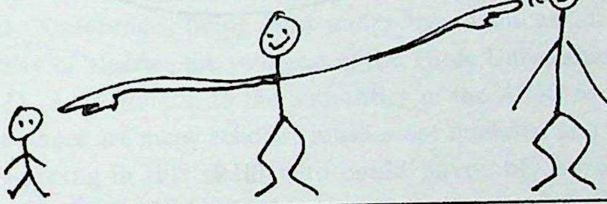
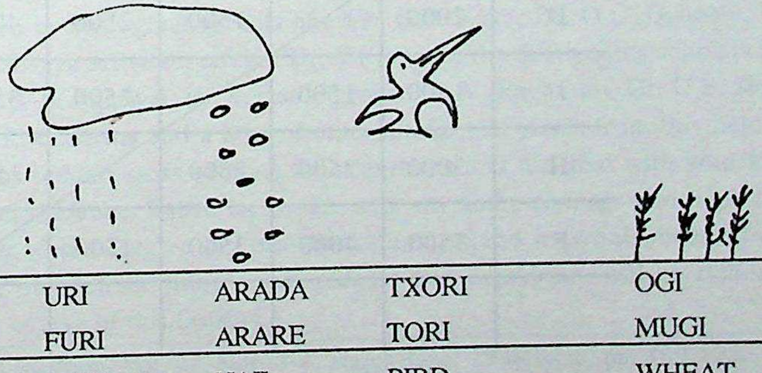
ASAI
TUBERCULOSIS
SHALLOW
ASAI
AZAL
SHALLOW

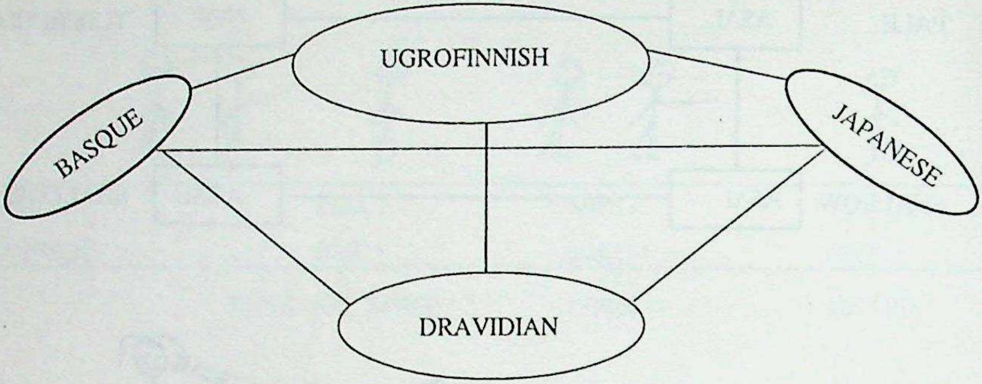


BASQUE	:	ANAIA	AÑA
JAPANESE	:	ANI	ANE
		BROTHER	ELDER SISTER



BASQUE	:	URI	ARADA	TXORI	OGI
JAPANESE	:	FURI	ARARE	TORI	MUGI
		RAIN	HAIL	BIRD	WHEAT

Ill. 8.


UGROFINNISH
BASQUE
JAPANESE
DRAVIDIAN

Ill. 9.

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D	2000		1500	2500	4000
J	1500	1500		2500	3500
H	5000	2500	2500		1500
F	7500	4000	3500	1500	

Ill. 10.

"TECHNICAL SCIENCES AND FINE ARTS"*

SIDDHARTH YESHWANT WAKANKAR**

Respected President, Fellow Sectional Presidents, Delegates, Budding Scholars and my Dear Students, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I deem it a privilege and honour to have been called upon to preside over the deliberations of this Section on Technical Sciences and Fine Arts in this, the 40th Session of the All India Oriental Conference, being held under the auspices of the Sanskrit Department of the University of Madras, the youngest of the Three Universities established by the British in 1857 A.D. I am grateful to the authorities of the AIOC for offering this opportunity to me. I know there are many scholars much more qualified and distinguished than this humble self, working in this field, who could have ably borne the heavy responsibility of this office, definitely far better than me. I sincerely wish I were worthy of this high distinction and competent to discharge the responsibilities entrusted to me. *I do believe that this honour is done to me not so much for my personal contributions to this fascinating field, but, due more to the generous urge to recognize and appreciate the yeoman's services rendered by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, to this and other fields of Indology. It is a sign of the cognizance of the work put forth before the scholarly world by this Research Officer of the Oriental Institute, ever since he joined it in January, 1977.* Nobody except myself is aware of my limitations to be audacious to be in this Chair which was previously adorned by such great savants like Mr. G.R. Kaye, Dr. O.C. Gangoly, Dr. Stella Kramrisch, the always active researcher Dr. P.K. Gode, the outstanding scholars Dr. Moti Chandra and Dr. V.S. Agarwal, the versatile genius Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. U.P. Shah, the veteran Prof. Dr. K.V. Sarma and a host of other intellectual giants from this field. I turn to these illustrious predecessors of mine for inspiration and feel that with your kind help, co-operation and guidance, I shall try to tide over my short-comings and hope that this learned assembly would forgive my drawbacks and extend its whole-hearted co-operation for making our deliberations a real success and everybody will be richer in knowledge during the course of this Session.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 47, Nos. 3-4, March-June, 1998 Issue, pp. 189-202.

* Presidential Address, "Technical Sciences & Fine Arts" Section, delivered at the 40th All India Oriental Conference, University of Madras, Chennai, 28th to 30th May, 2000,

** Oriental Institute, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Opposite Palace Gate, Palace Road, Vadodara - 390 001.

I am reminded of a happy co-incidence. Dr. U.P. Shah, the then Deputy Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, presided over the deliberations of the 24th Session of the AIOC, held at Benares, way back in October, 1968. After a gap of nearly 32 years, a *Research Officer of the same Oriental Institute* has been chosen to preside over this 40th session of the AIOC, which is being held at Madras after a gap of 76 years, the previous Session held in the Madras University, being in 1924 (the 3rd Session). *I think this opportunity offered to me is the result of the work being carried out by this Research Officer of the Oriental Institute and the recognition thereof on the national level.*

I am equally happy to state that this past-student of the middle-sister (i.e. Bombay University) is welcomed in the house of the youngest sister (i.e. Madras University) to share his knowledge with his cousins in the academic field. Madras University has the distinction of being the first University in South India established by the British in 1857 A.D. after the establishment in the same year of the Bombay and Calcutta Universities (which are the elder and the eldest sister respectively).

Before I actually embark upon the task of taking a resume of the work done between October, 1998 and May, 2000, in the subjects falling under our Section, let me spell out the major and genuine difficulties encountered by me while trying to collect the relevant material for the preparation of this Presidential Address.

1. The irregularity and behind-the-schedule printing of the research journals and their non-availability or non-delivery in time. This has created a vacuum in the Libraries and consequently deprived the scholars of the benefit of knowing the current trends in the research field, thus, paralysing our efforts in this direction.

2. The less sympathetic, casual and non-co-operative attitude of many of the scholars, who have the competence, but, not desire and keen interest to share their knowledge with other fellow workers in the field. It really pains me at heart. In fact, I am very much constrained to bring to the notice of the scholars that I wrote letters/ reminders /sent fax messages/ contacted many on the telephones with a sincere request to kindly let me have the information about the seminars/ workshops/ conferences held and the printed matter in the form of books/ papers/ monographs etc. dealing with the subjects falling under our Section. I am very much disheartened to intimate to your good selves that out of nearly 100 scholars/ institutes/ organizations to whom I sent letters, only 20 scholars showed the courtesy of answering my queries. If such a trend continues, then we will be defeating the very purpose for which the sessions of the AIOC are organised. Consequently, in near future, such academic programmes will be rendered redundant. Some of the fellow Sectional

Presidents also have exhibited this kind of tendency, which is beyond anybody's comprehension. I sincerely appeal, nay beseech, all the scholars assembled here to see to it that they do not fall a prey to this malady affecting our intelligentsia.

3. In almost all the Indian Languages, works are being published on almost all the indological subjects, but, despite advances in modern technology, it is very difficult-almost impossible - to get information about all such valuable publications coming from the length and breadth of this Blessed Land of ours, unless and until the scholars volunteer their services and extend their whole hearted co-operation to their colleagues in the furtherance of knowledge. There should be a collective effort in this direction.

On this background, I would embolden myself to propose a few suggestions to overcome or at least lessen some of our genuine difficulties.

1. As for the subjects covered under our Section, it would be in the fitness of things if Organisations like the Lalit Kala Akademy, Sangit Natak Akademy, Indian National Science Acadmy and other Organisations working in the field of Fine Arts and Science and technology take up the work of publishing yearly bibliographies of the research work brought out in the form of books/ papers/ monographs/ reports etc. printed from different States and Union Territories.
2. A number of original publications written in different Indian languages appear very frequently, but often one misses reference to them because of the absence of knoweldge of all such languages. They should be made available either in Hindi or English for wider consumption by the scholarly world. Alternately, year-books should be published covering the references to all such important works/papers. The Southern languages are rich in source materials in such subjects like Medicine, Astronomy etc. Local medical traditions play a very prominent role, but, they should be accessible in Hindi or English, so that it spreads to other parts of the country too, paving the way for mutual understanding and awareness and hence, national integration.
3. We should encourage the commendable trend of some of the science-graduates to delve deep into our hidden heritage. A co-ordination of Science and Sanskrit scholars should work together for brining out scientific and technical treatises in Sanskrit with translations/ notes/ comments in consonance with the modern developments and discoveries in science and technology.
4. Last but not the least. The organisers of academic programmes and publishers

of the books in different subjects should make it a point to send information about their activities to the General Secretary of the AIOC, so that the researchers, at least, the Sectional Presidents, will get authentic information for being incorporated in their Speeches. This will go a long way in disseminating knowledge.

THE SECTION :

The name of the section suggests a fusion of the heart and the head/brain. Though this appears to be a contradictory combination of certain Arts and Sciences, in essence, they are inter-related and inter-connected and complement each other, as both the disciplines are practical in nature and the one set would be incomplete without the other. Every Art has its Science/technique inherent in it and the success of an artist depends much upon his mastery or command over the technique (*tantra*) involved and the success of a scientist needs artistic expression/ execution/ skill/ mastery in his job.

THE AIM OF THE ADDRESS :

It shall be my sincere effort to try to take stock of the work that is carried on since October, 1998 when we met last at the 39th Session of the AIOC at Vadodara.

It may be stated that certain subjects from our Section have assumed greater significance in the modern times, owing to the welcome change in looking at our glorious past/ heritage/ culture with the eye endowed with modern vision, advances in science and technology and the new sight gained as a result of all the research in different areas and fields. It is a very heartening sign that many Sanskrit scholars are trying their best to establish relation between ancient wisdom and modern insight of science and technology. In almost every field, we observe this attempt at a co-relation *(samanvaya)* which appeared to be a far cry or a difficult thing to reconcile in the years gone by. The two main disciplines which benefited more by this welcome tendency are Architecture *(Vāstuśāstra)* and Medicine *(Āyurveda).* We turn to that.

VĀSTUŚĀSTRA-ARCHITECTURE :

Almost in all the parts of India, some seminars/ conferences etc. were organised on this subject, especially, during the Sanskrit Year.

1. The Institute of Oriental Study, Thane, Maharashtra, conducted a one-day National Seminar on "Sthāpatya in Ancient India", on the 25th Dec. 1999, in which many young & seasoned scholars and experts actively participated.
2. One of the best seminars on "Temple Arts and Architecture" was organised between 22nd to 24th October, 1999 by the Sukṛtīndra Oriental Research

Institute, Cochin, which was attended largely by Sanskrit scholars and practising Architects and Engineers and those engaged in the work of construction of the temples. While discussing the paper of the present President on "Contribution of the Somapuras from Gujarat to Temple Architecture", it was pointed out by Prof. Hari Mohan Pillai that "Gujarat and Kerala are the only two States in India where the traditional way of constructing temples is still followed". The Vol. I. No. 1, Oct., 1999 of the *Journal* of this Institute at Cochin contains 13 papers that were read at this three-day seminar and the Vol. II. will cover the remaining papers. This will enable the interested persons/ scholars to have a sufficiently clear idea of the progress in this field which is attracting more and more scholars from other disciplines too.

3. Prof. Hari Mohan Pillai, a practising Architect, organised the 5th National Seminar on *Vāstuvidyā* at Vashi, Navi Mumbai on 20th and 21st November, 1999. The theme of the Seminar was "Revival for Cultural Continuity" and the following sub-themes were discussed during the course of the seminar. (1) Design Grammar in Indian Architecture (2) Aesthetic Science in *Vāstuvidyā* (3) Traditional Technology in Building Art and (4) Canons of *Vāstuvidyā* and Modern Building By-laws.

4. The Vastuvidyapratisthanam, Calicut, is a research foundation devoted to researcḥ in Traditional Architecture of India. It offers non-formal courses in *Vāstuvidyā* and provides academic support to like-minded institutions. It also arranges seminars, conferences etc. and publishes books on *Vāstuvidyā* and Critical commentaries on classic *vāstu* treatises in Sanskrit.

During the period between October, 1998 till February, 2000, this Institute organised five such academic programmes, viz.

a. Vāstuvidyā-98. 4th National Convention on Vastuvidya, December, 19-20, 1998, Saleṃ, Tamilnadu.

b. Vāstuvidyā-awareness Workshop, February, 26-27th, 1999, Kottayam, Kerala.

c. Vāstuvidyā-99. 5th National Convention, 20-21st November, 1999, Thane, Maharashtra.

d. Prāsādam - National Seminar on "Temple Arts and Architecture"22-24th October, 1999, Cochin, Kerala and

e. National Seminar on "Śāstra and Prayoga in Vāstuvidyā", February, 23-26, 2000, Calicut University, Kerala.

5. Sri Sankaracharaya Sanskrit University at Kalady organised a National Seminar on Vāstuvidyā on 20-21st March, 2000.

6. The Gandhian Institute of Studies, Varanasi, organised from 28.10.1998 to 02.11.1998, the "Third Congress on Traditional Sciences and Technology of India".

7. The Department of Sanskrit, Ramakrishna Mission Vivekanand College, Chennai, organised from 17.03.1999 to 21.03.1999, a National Seminar on Art and Architecture.

8. The Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams arranged from 05.07.1999 to 08.07.1999, a Conference on Vedic Āgamas and Śilpasadas.

9. The Dr. B.R. Ambedkar University of Agra, arranged on 20-22 February, 1999 a National Seminar on "Applied Sciences in Sanskrit Literature - Various Aspects of Utility" and

10. The Govt. Sanskrit College, Pattambi, Kerala, conducted from 29th - 31st January, 2000, a National Seminar on "Scientific Heritage of India".

11. The Sanskrit Department of the Bombay University, Mumbai, arranged two very interesting and thought - providing National Seminars, wherein some papers bearing on some of the subjects from our Section were presented. Their details are as under :

In the "Trends of Assimilation and Integration in Ancient India" Seminar, 9-11th March, 1999 one paper each on Trends in Indian Art, Architecture and Sculpture and Dance were presented.

In the second Seminar on "Roots of Indian Culture as seen in Ancient Indian Texts", 7-8th March, 2000 two papers dealing with Roots in Dance and Indian Art were presented.

AESTHETICS :

Dr. Rashmi Poddar, the Hon. Director of the Post Graduate Diploma in Indian Aesthetics, conducted by the Dept. of Philosphy of the Bombay University, Mumbai, supplied me the details about the Course Content which is divided as follows : (1) The Beginnings; (2) World-view through Architecture and Sculpture; (3) Aesthetic Theories and Their Application; (4) Painting; (5) Colonial and Modern Aesthetics and (6) Interaction of Cultures. The teachers include renowned scholars from the fields of art-history, archaeology, aesthetics and philosophy. This seminal one-year Diploma has been running for the past one year. I sincerely thank Dr. Rashmi Poddar for kindly sending this information.

ASTRONOMY & ASTROLOGY :

Astrology is more popular with the masses, while Astronomy is supposed to be meant for a class of very few individuals. Sanskrit works dealing with Astronomy are increasingly studied critically and there are scholars who participated in seminars etc. on this interesting subject. More and more scholars with a science background are taking keen interest in studying the ancient Sanskrit texts from the modern view-points.

Prof. Dr. K.V. Sarma, one of the greatest living authorities on Astronomy, esp. Kerala-tradition, was invited to deliver an extensive Key-note Address on "Āryabhaṭa and Aryabhatan Astronomy : Antecedents, Status and Development" in the International Seminar on "Āryabhaṭīyam" held under the auspices of the Kerala Śāstra Sāhitya Parishat at Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, 12-16th January, 2000.

The Swadeshi Science Movement (Kerala), organised a National Seminar on "Scientific Contributions of Āryabhaṭa" at Thiruvananthapuram on 12-13th June, 1999.

Both these programmes were conducted in commemoration of the completion of the 1500th year since the writing of the *Āryabhaṭīyam* in 499 A.D.

Prof. Dr. S.R. Sarma of Aligarh is working on "A Descriptive Catalogue of Indian Astronomical and Time-measuring Instruments" which is a Project sponsored by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and funded by the Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi.

I am extremely grateful to Prof. K.V. Sarma for promptly supplying this information.

Prof. Dr. S. Balachandra Rao, the Prof. of Mathematics and the Principal of the National College, Basavanagudi, Bangalore, has recently written a very valuable and interesting book, entitled, *"Indian Astronomy"*, which takes a survey of the development of Astronomy in India from the Vedic times to the present. It will definitely create an awareness about Indian Astronomy amongst the interested students as well as general readers. The systematically planned contents and a lucid style will enable the readers to grasp the concepts, techniques and computational procedures developed by the great Indian astronomers like Āryabhaṭa, Brahmagupta, Bhāskara II. This is the first comprehensive book on Indian Astronomy. A unique feature of this book is that it provides Computer Programmes for the Computerisation of true planetary positions, Lunar and Solar eclipses. A detailed bibliography, glossary and the index further enhance the utility of this book. It is definitely a heartening sight that a Mathematician like Dr. Rao has been working on research projects in Indian Astronomy, which are sponsored by the Indian National Science Academy and he is also actively associated with the National Institute of Advanced Study, Bangalore.

The Astrological Research Project and Vishva Jyotisa Vidyapeetha, Calcutta, organised the 23rd International Astrological Conference from 28.01 to 31st January, 2000.

Now, we turn to the Western world which is also actively engaged in the research in Astrology. The British Association for the Vedic Astrology, organised one International Conference on "Vedic Astrology" from 24-09 to 26-09-1999.

ĀYURVEDA & MEDICINE :

Local medicinal traditions is a very interesting and rewarding subject for study and research. Every State in India has its own contribution in this field due to the richness of natural resources. Āyurveda has been the medicine of the masses since times immemorial. So it will be very difficult to take a stock of all the organisations devoted to the study and research of Āyurveda.

The Gujarat Ayurvedic University at Jamnagar, is a pride of the State of Gujarat, it being the only University devoted to the study, spread and research in Ayurveda. Its Vice Chancellor, Dr. P.N.V. Kurup, is a very dynamic scholar who has significanly contributed towards the development of Āyurveda in India and abroad. Under his able guidance, the University has earned international recognition for the pioneering work done in the field of Āyurveda. The Uni. regularly arranges weekly seminars, involving the students and teachers. The Uni. also arranges Ph.D. Pre-submission seminars. In addition to this, the Uni. also arranges National and International Seminars/Conferences on Āyurveda and allied subjects and actively conducts research projects, publishes books on Āyurveda. It also conducts special courses in Āyurveda for foreign students. Their official News-bulletin, viz. *GujAyu News,* meant for internal circulation, describes all their activites. Amongst their most recent and important publications many be mentioned the "An Atlas on Āyurvedic Medicinal FLora of Gujarat", Vol. I which was released in January, 2000, at the time of the "International Seminar on Āyurveda and other Traditional Medicines : Scope and Challenges", 5-7th January, 2000. A total number of 220 papers were presented in the 20 scientific sessions, besides 23 Key-note addresses and 20 Guest lectures.

A very significant development towards the research in Āyurveda was the "International Congress on Āyurveda-2000", organised from 28-30th January, 2000 by the Sowparnika Ayurvedic Foundation for Research, Health and Education, Chennai, wherein Guest lectures, embracing all the major subjects, of leading scholars-both Indian and foreign-were arranged.

FINE ARTS-DANCE / MUSIC / PAINTING :

In every State of India, local traditions play a very vital role in the spread of the Fine Arts. There are many smaller and bigger organisations working in these fields and it is really very very difficult to cover the activities of all such organisations. Hence, only a brief treatment is attempted here.

1. *Saṅgīta,* a very famous Hindi Monthly Magazine devoted to the spread of Music is published from Hathras. Every issue of this Journal is very important from some or the other point of view. This Academy regularly publishes books in Hindi covering *Saṅgīta* in all its aspects.
2. Vadodara, the *Sanskārangarī* of Gujarat, is very proud of Indian Musicological Society, established in 1970 for the promotion, study, research in the field of Music, including Folk-Music and Indian Dance. This organisation publishes per year one Journal (Magazine) and publishes valuable books, arranges seminars/ conferences/ workshops/ concerts and other cultural performances, lectures etc. etc. The Vol. 30, Jan-Dec., 1999 Issue of the Journal is a Special Issue on *"Perspectives of Dhrupada",* while, its 29th Vol. Jan-Dec, 1998, was a special issue on *"Essays on Indian Music"* by Josef Kuckertz. Now-a-days, this Journal publishes only Special Issues on some selected topics and the General Editor of the Journal is Prof. R.C. Mehta, whom I thank profusely for supplying this information to me. The recent publications of the IMS include : (1) *Folk-songs of South Gujarat in Western Notation,* 1998 (2) *The Musical Heritage of Sri Muthuswami Dikshitar,* 1998; (3) *Vanishing Traditions in Music* - is a collection of papers published in 1999 and (4) *Music : Inter-cultural Aspects* - is also a collection of essays, published in 1999.

PAINTING :

The Rāgamālā Painting is a veritable source-material for research and publication. There are some local traditions here also, expressing the typical style of the area. One of the recent books on this topic is *Jammu Rāgamālā Painings,* by Sukhdev Singh Charah, 1998. There are many manuscripts in different Institutes and Libraries that deal with this fascinating topic and it will be a daunting task to publish them all and offer a comprehensive book embracing all the aspects of this subject.

It will be in the fitness of things to refer to some work being done in my city of Baroda and the different Institutions affiliated to the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda.

1. The Department of Pharmacology of the Baroda Medical College, is conducting a "Study of some of the Pharmacological effects of Shilajit" and the aim of the project is the "Study of antidiabetic and anti-hyperlipedemic actions of an Ayurvedic component - Shilajit". The project is being carried out under the able guidance of Dr. K.G. Hemavati and her colleagues.

2. Dr. K.J. Pathak of the Dept. of Medicine from the same Medical College, organised a seminar on "From Maharshi to Millennium" on 12th February, 2000, wherein, he gave a very interesting and informative account of the development of medicine from the Sages to the modern period.

I thank Dr. Hemavati and Dr. Pathak for this piece of information.

3. The Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya of our M. S. University organised on 31.07.1999, a Seminar on the interesting topic of "Medical Astrology". The speakers expressed their views on this vital aspect of our life by referring to medicine and Jyotiṣa texts and voiced their opinions which at times were novel and surprising.

4. The same Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya organised a three day Seminar from 17-19th February, 2000 on "Significance of Vāstuśāstra in Town Planning". Simultaneously, an Exhibition also was arranged. Three scholars from the Oriental Institute, viz. Dr. M.L. Wadekar, Dr. Ushaben Brahmachari and Dr. Meenaben Pathak, presented their papers on the following topics respectively : "Town Planning with reference to the *Mayamatam;*" "*Nagararacanā* as per the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya" and "House-planning according to the *Matsyapurāṇa*". If all the papers presented at this seminar by distinguished scholars are published, it will give a glimpse of the work being done in this field.

5. The Department of Achitecture of the Faculty of Technology and Engineering of the MSU, organised the "Second International Workshop" in January, 2000, wherein local as well as students from the Queensland University, Australia, participated and prepared detailed historic studies (Drawings and Report) on the Sursagar Lake of Baroda. The students of the same Architecture Dept. under the guidance of their teachers - carried out detailed studies of the most important and old buildings of the M.S. University of Baroda which have great value as far as heritage and architectural aspects are concerned. These buildings predominantly represent Hindu, Islamic and Indo-Saracenic styles which prevailed in this part of India.

I am grateful to Prof. Vijay Mataí and his colleagues for this piece of information.

Now, we turn to Saṅgīta. The Dinkar Memorial Research Centre for Music and the Saraswati Sangit Vidyalaya organised a four-day workshop titled, "Dhangadar Bandishe-Rangatdar Gayan" from 13-16th February, 2000, where Shri Arun Kashalkar - an eminent exponent of Agra Gharana, guided the participants in classical vocal music.

I thank Shri Prabhakar Date for this information.

The Gujarat Sangit Natya Acadmy and the Department of Instrumental Music of the Faculty of Performing Arts of the MSU, jointly organised a Sangit Shibir, viz. "Sitar Vadan

Ghanistha Talim" between 9-15th November, 1998 under the guidance of the well-known Sitar maestro, Pandit Arvind Parikh of Mumbai. Twenty students including 4 staff-members participated in it. Shri Madhukar N. Gurav provided the Tabla accompaniment.

I thank Shri Gurav for this information.

Dr. Mohan Agashe delivered lectures on the following two topics, under "The Late Vivek Shinde Memorial Lecture Series", under the auspices of the Dept. of Dramatics, Faculty of Performing Arts, M.S.U.

(1) The Role of Theatre in Life & (2) The Theatre & other Media. Date 23.9.1999, I thank Dr. Mahesh C. Shah for these details

1998

October

1. Paper Mache workshop by Morcrafts at NCPA.
   October 26-October 29.
2. From Buch to Tohaikovsky
   2 day course on Western Classical composers
   October 31 - November 1 by JACK.

November

1. 'DRAWING' - Workshop by Mohile Parikh Centre.
   November 2 - November 6.
2. Clowning Techniques in Theatre - Workshop by JACK.
   November 6.
3. Whistles in Clay Pottery - Workshop by Morcraft.
   November 14-November 17.

December

1. The Dramatic vision of E.Alkazi.
   Theatre workshop.
2. Tie & Dye workshop by Morcrafts.
   December 17-December 21.
3. Art Awareness workshop by JACK (on several aspects of music).
   January 4 - February 7.

January 1999

1. Course on introduction to the philosophy of Art.
   January 4 - January 15 by MPCVA.

2. Faces and clay - by Morecraft.
   January 28 - January 30.

February 1999

1. Teaching of Indian Music.
   February 20 - February 21 by MF.

March 1999

1. Workshop on Theatre with British Council.
   March 5.
2. Flute workshop with British Council.
   March 16.

April 1999

1. Jazz & World Music Appreciation Workshop by JACK.
   April 22 - April 25

May 1999

1. Art & Architecture - Indus Valley Civilization Workshop.
   May 3 - May 7.
2. Tensile structures - Interactive Workshop.
   May 6 - May 9 by Morcrafts.

June 1999

1. Ghazal Music Appreciation Workshop by JACK.
   June 9 - June 10.

September 1999

1. Castles in the AIR - A collaborative craft based information technology event by Morcrafts.
   September 7 - September 9.
2. Mumbai's Domestic Architecture Heritage -
   Seminar by MPCVA. September 18.

November 1999

1. Workshop on Calligraphy by JACK.
   November 12.
2. Children's day Workshop

December 1999

1. Seminar on RIYAZ.
   December 3 - December 5 by Morcraft.
2. Workshop on weaving by Morcraft.
   December 16 - December 19.

January 2000

1. Experimental in Conceptual Curating.
   Imaging the future of Indian Art by MPCVA.
   January 13 - January 14.
2. Songs of Enchantment & the Dance of the Nile.
   Rags Sharqi Workshop by Morcrafts.
   January 9 - January 11.

February 2000

1. Music Workshop by Storioni Pianotrio.
   February 2 by ICCR & Consulate General of the Netherlands.
2. Storehouse or Educational Motor :
   A new balance for Indian Museums - Seminar, Exhibition, Workshop.
   February 9 - February 10.

I am very grateful to Shri Arvindbhai Parikh of Mumbai for supplying these details about the work done at the 'National Centre for the Performing Arts' Mumbai, Maharashtra.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my deep sense of gratitude to those very few scholars - who spared their very valuable time from their heavy schedule and showed the courtesy of sending some information which they possessed, so that I could incorporate those details in this Presidential Address. The scholars are : Prof. Dr. K.V. Sarma, Shri A.V. Balasubramanian, both from Chennai; Dr. Achyutan of the Vastuvidyapratisthanam, Calicut; Prof. Hari Mohan Pillai of New Panvel; Dr. Vijay V. Bedekar of the Institute for Oriental Study; Thane, Maharashtra, Dr. Devanganaben Desai, Dr. Rashmi Poddar, Prof. Dr. Mrs. Alka Bakre of the Sanskrit Dept. of the Bombay University, Mumbai; Prof. Dr. B. Narasimcharyulu of Osmania Uni., Hyderabad; Dr. Mrs. Bidyut Lata Ray, Nayagarh, Orissa; the Director of the Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai (Dr. Kalpanaben Desai and her staff); Prof. Dr. B.B. Chaubey of Hoshiarpur, Punjab; Dr. P.N.V. Kurup, the Vice Chancellor of the Gujarat Ayurvedic University, Jamnagar; Prof. Dr. S.R. Leela, Bangalore; Prof. Dr. C. Rajendran, Calicut University; I may be excused if I have missed anybody's name due to oversight.

Before concluding, I sincerely request your good selves to kindly excuse me for any omissions. I just desire to bring to your kind notice that I have spared no pains to collect the information from all the quarters of India and that I have tried my best to make this resume as much useful as was possible by making use of the material that was available to me at Baroda. Still, I might have missed reference to my dear and near friends and colleagues and I earnestly crave your indulgence for the same.

I profusely thank you all for the patient hearing you have given to my talk.

KṚṢṆA CONCEPT IN THE VEDAS :
A REASSESSMENT - I

RAKESH RANJAN PATHAK*

Out of some twenty scrutinies poring over the context, few [1] felt the fact that a seer of Vedic verses[2] could evolve through ages into such a paragonic character of further writings[3]. Buttressing the root of their reasoning, inclusion of great seers and sages, ahistoric (e.g. *Nārada* and *Vyāsa*) or historic (e.g. founders of Jainism and Buddhism viz. Ṛṣabhadeva and *Buddha* respectively) in the incarnations is an accepted tradition of *Vaiṣṇavas* (and that's why the enumeration of 10[4] mounted upto 22[5] or even more[6].)

The most weighty objection to this evolutionary theory retorts that it's not prudent enough to trace the identity of such a kingly figure (a *Yaduvaṁśī Kṣatriya*) back into a seer (most probably a *Brāhmaṇa*) of the Vedic era[7]. But counterweighs the analogically similar case of *Vaivasvata Manu*- a Vedic seer[8] turned mythic monarch[9]. By the way, kingdom is

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[1] •Weber : Indian Literature
•Von Schröder : Vienna Oriental journal (19.414-415)
•Grierson : "Bhakti" in his *Encyclopaedia of Religions.*

[2] *Ṛgveda :* (8.85, 86?, 87?) (10.42-44)

[3] *Bhagavadgītā* : 11.15-31

[4] *Sātvataḥ Kalkireva Ca* (*Mahābhārata* 12.851*.2pr.) (the *Matsya-* (285.6-7) and The *Varāha-* (4.2) *purāṇas* reckon *"Buddha"* instead of *"Haṁsa"*)

[5] *Śrīmadbhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa* (1.3.6-22) (the same text in other two contexts enumerates less no).

[6] *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* (5.50-57) includes 39 incarnations.

[7] *"Kṛṣṇa"* in *A Dictionary of Hinduism* (By Margaret and James Stutley).

[8] *Ṛgveda* (8.27-31)

[9] *Mānyastu Bhūbhujām* (*Devībhāgavata* 10.10. 1-2)

not just antipodal to wisdom (In India, contrariwise was the expectation and a befitting example was *Janaka*[10]).

One of the aforesaid scrutinies[11] propounds an altogether different line of evolution and views the *Ṛgveda* itself as a prime reference of power-struggle between *Kṛṣṇa* and the vedic god *Indra*. But it's really next to impossible that a down and out underdog[12] of the Vedic version has later turned into a victor of the same duet so many times[13]. On the contrary, the seer *Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa* has eulogised that very *Indra* in his other verses[14].

In my humble opinion, all the available homonyms throughout Hindu mythology are not meant for a particular personage. Here depicting a duo of seer and demon by one name may seem somewhat syncretic. For clarification's sake, it's known that *Kṛṣṇa* was well established as an incarnation even before the 2nd century B.C.[15] & upto now this dignity is steady (if not steadily increasing). But far ahead of this consecration, *Purāṇic* literature[16] mentions a demon by that very name. The same happens to *Hayagrīva,* one out of 22 incarnations, in the same couplet.

Some more homonyms of *Kṛṣṇa* are seen elsewhere[17] and some more creatures[18] are suggested by the word in the Vedas themselves. (though all these are out of our context)

Of course, belittlement of the Vedic deities against *Rudra* and *Viṣṇu* began as early as late Vedic era[19]. The trends spiralled ahead with neogenesis of gods and the Vedic ones slumped down to a still lower status. Ultimately, the great sages were set against the Vedic gods. For example, the ruler of gods (comparatively less gubernatorial glory but more crucial clout was assigned to *Indra* formerly) was very often cut down to size by *Gautama*[20]. *Agastya*[21] etc. (cf. *Aṅgirā* against *Agni*[22]).

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[10] •the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (mentions his transgression upto *Brāhmaṇatva* though originally a *Kṣatriya* 11.6.2.10).

•the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣads* also mention his name.

[11] *Rādhākṛṣṇan Sarvepalli* (*Indian Philosphy* Vol. I. p. 87)

[12] *Āvat Tamindraḥ Śacyā Dhmantamapa Snehitīrnṛmanā Adhatta* (*Ṛgveda* 8.96.13)

[13] •*Khāṇḍava Dahana* (*Mahābhārata* 1.219.21-22)

•*Govardhana Dhāraṇa* (10.27. 1-2) and *Pārijāta Haraṇa* (10.59.39) *(Śrīmadbhāgavata).*

[14] *Ṛgveda* (10.42-44)

[15] Kane P.V. : *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Vol. V Part II P. 997) cf. The *Mahābhārata* 1.57.83).

[16] *Vāyupurāṇa* (50.21)

[17] *Brahmāṇḍa* (3.7.443), the *Matsya* (15.10) the *Vāyu* (96.14) and the *Bhāgavata* (4.24.8) The *Purāṇas*. etc.

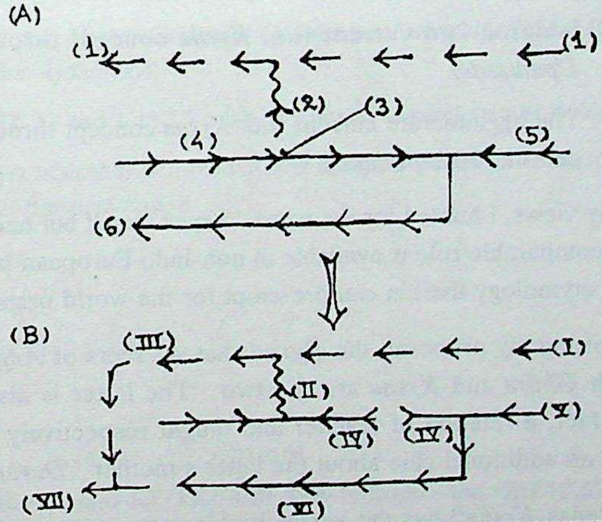
[18] *Atharvaveda* (9.6.17, 11.2.2)

[19] Calling *Indra* names in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (3.3.4) (cf. the *Jaiminīya* (2.79) and the *Saḍaviṁśa* (1.1) *Brāhmaṇa*)

This mythological upliftment *Kṛṣṇa* attained much in accordance but more profoundly. Here again it's to be noted that these victories against *Indra* are by no means a negative projection or a "mirror image" like reversal of the war with a Vedic demon cited beforehand.

Accordingly, relying on the sole criterion of conflict between this Vedic deity and the Sages, the latter (not excluding *Kṛṣṇa*) are not to be taken as "a tribal concept Aryanised later on"[23]. Of course, the *Gītā* is the last piece of work befittingly ascribed to the Vedic seer. Otherwise, while glamorising him as "the Absolute" comparative to all other demigodly incarnations, a vast range of powers and actions additional to his original genius were attributed to him. Hence defying all those accessories, I would prefer to curb my comments keeping the Gitaite philosophy and its formulator in sight.

Actually, the evolution of a social faith or frame can be better represented geographically as a river profile. In the annexured diagram, the headspring area of catchment is similized -



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[20] *Mahābhārata* (13.138.6) (the seed of this story sown far back in the *Śatapatha* (3.3.4)

[21] *Mahābhārata* (3.178.37-38)

[22] *Mahābhārata* (13.138.8) (cf. all the three sages were known in the Vedic age)

[23] Iyengar P.T. Śrinivāsan (1930) : *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture.*

A) Initial topography

1. (To be) captor current.
2. (To be) pirate current.
   (erstwhile a feeder)
3. Elbow of the capture
4. (To be) captive current.
   (beheaded by the capture)
5. Another tributary to 6.

B) Evolved topography :

I. Captor current (i.e. non-Aryan mythology)
II. Pirate current (i.e. interdigitation of ideas)
III. Combined current (i.e. the tinctured tales)
IV. Severed current (i.e. *Kṛṣṇa* concept shared)
V. Another tributary to VI [i.e. other ancient (Vedic etc) ideas]
VI. Isolated 2nd current (i.e. *Kṛṣṇa* concept through *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads)*
VII. The agglomerate current (i.e. *Kṛṣṇa* concept through the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mahāpurāṇas*).

To verify my views, I hunted for the word *"Kṛṣṇa"* itself but neither any homophone of the name with comparable role is available in non-Indo European languages of this sub-continent nor any etymology therein can pre-empt for the world origin.

As to supporting my proposal, the *Ṛgveda* has 47 seers of *Āṅgirasa* school cited in total out of which *Ghora* and *Kṛṣṇa* are the two. The latter is also mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas*[24]. In fact, a relation of teacher and taught respectively is reaffirmed in the *Upaniṣadas*[25] with an additional clue about the latter's mother *"Devakī"*.

As in the Vedas *Kṛṣṇa*[26] has the verses by his very name, no benefit of doubt can accrue in opposition. Another seer *Viśvaka* is also called *Kārṣṇī*[27] (i.e. a disciple of *Kṛṣṇa*[28]) but the name is not noted with *Āṅgirasas.* Therefore, *Kṛṣṇa* appears to be the terminus of *Āṅgirasa* chain who thenafter insituted a new school by his own name.

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[24] *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (30.9)

[25] *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (3.17.6)

[26] •*Kṛṣṇo Aśvinā Havate* (*Ṛgveda* 8.85.3)
•*Kṛṣṇasya Stuvato Naraḥ* (*Ibid* 8.85.4)

Again the work *Kṛṣṇīya* as referred to in the *Ṛgveda*[29] authenticates the lineage of *Kṛṣṇa*[30] as known by other contemporary seers. The *Gītā* mentions a preacher chain[31] of *Vivasvān, Manu* and *Ikṣvāku.* Alongwith *Vivasvān Āditya,*[32] *Vaivasvata Manu*[33] is also a seer in the *Ṛgveda.*

Additionally, *Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa*[34] and *Vaivasvata Manu*[35] are the two seers of the *Sāmaveda.* In far late literature *Kṛṣṇa* is reaffirmed as a *Sāmavedin* and the inventor of *Sālikyagāna*[36]. Contrarily, his mention as an *Ātharvaṇa* and a disciple of *Sumantu*[37] is not boltstered by any other text (a homonym?). Lastly *Ikṣvāku,* a king mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*[38] (having no seership) didn't contribute to the chain as much and the tradition attenuated.

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27. *Ta Vām Viśvako Havate* (*Ṛgveda* 8.86)
28. *Bahvādiprabhṛtiṣu Yeṣām Darśanam Gotrabhāve Tatonyatra Teṣām Pratiṣedhaḥ* (*Vārtika* on IV. 1.97 of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*)
29. *Ṛgveda* (1.116.23 and 1.117.7 both by Kakṣīvān Dairghatamas Auśijaḥ)
30. *Ṛṣyandhakavṛṣṇikurubhyaśca* (and *Kṛṣṇa* is called *Vārṣṇeya* in the *Gītā* (1.41, 3.36) etc.) CIV. 1.114 of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*)
31. *Gītā* (4.1)
32. *Ṛgveda* (10.13)
33. *Ṛgveda* (8.27-31)
34. *Sāman* 375
35. *Ibid* 48.
36. *Harivaṁśa Mahāpurāṇa* (cf. *Vedānām Sāmavedosmi* - the *Gītā* 10.22)
37. *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (2.35.56)
38. *Ṛgveda* (10.64.4) (in almost all references of *Purāṇic* Period he is the son of *Vaivasvata Manu* (*Śrāddhadeva,* the 7th one out of 14).]

[The Mahābhārata from Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (ed. by Belvalkar and Sukthankar) is referred throughtout].

A REASSESSMENT - II

Let alone the literary inferences in the reassessment I, today's adorable Lord *Kṛṣṇa* should be traced back into the Vedic seer *Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa*[1] historically as well. Against the metaphoric river-head there, this time we would consider the matter under archaeological guidance of contemporary river courses.

As a compulsion behind replacement and eventual devolution of Indus valley civilisation, the invasion by Aryans continues to be a prime suspect. The Vedic literature and a marginal overlap of chronology are proposed evidences for the invader-victim relation.[2]

But before any immigration, the deurbanisation of originally discrete cities into a multiple of tiny rural settlements had already set in. The instance of dark-skinned, snub-nosed people forced out of their residences by *Agni,* the Aryan god of fire (cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* II. 2, 4, 6), is thus most probably a local and insignificant incidence in the latter perspective.[3]

Remaining replete with literary figures of speech, the Vedas provide us just a guesswork most of the time. Moreover, they are not an authentic text of history. For example, *Vṛtra's* demise following a war with the Aryan god *Indra*[4], water mass that the latter released[5] or *Pura*-s which he destroyed[6] aren't necessarily historical entities as such. (By the way, if we take them thus, nearly the whole Vedic literature would be either false or meaningless[7].

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[1] RV : 8.85-87 and 10.42-44

[2]
- Wheeler, Robert Erich Mortimer (1946) - *Ancient India* (Bulletin of Archaeological Survey of India) No. 3.
- Allchin, F.R. : "The Legacy of Indus Civilisation" p. 385-393, HC

[3]
- Vishnu-Mittre : "Harappan Civilisation and the Need for a New Approach" - p. 37, (Lt. para 3) HC.
- Agrawal, D.P. : "The Harappan Legacy (subtitle 'The Break')" - p. 451 (Rt. para 3) HC
- Tosi Maurizio : "Harappan CIvilisation Beyond the Indian Subcontinent" - p. 366, HC.

[4] *Indro Yad Vṛtramavadhīt* (1.52.2, RV)

[5] *Akrandayo Nadyo Roruvad* (1.54.1, RV)

[6] ... *Vāvāturyaḥ Purandaraḥ ... Yāsadvajrī Bhinatpuraḥ* (8.1.8, RV)

[7] Pathak, R.R.; (1991) *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* (VVBISIS, Panjab University) Vol. XXIX, Pt. i-ii, Jun.-Dec. 1991, p. 27-30.

Historicity of *Indra* or *Vṛtra* or even the small scale duel has hardly been established - skeletal evaluations etc. from Mohenjodaro, for example, have landed nowhere except an airy idea of few murders.[8] Of course, the water mass is archaeologically a far better criterion - either flood landmarks or river. -courses.

Flooding, though rightly stressed[9], has been misdirected onto Mohenjodaro devolution. It was neither a cause of the civilisation's end in general nor for Mohenjodaro in particular[10]. While Kalibangan dried up enforcing the exodus, Sind (including Mohenjodaro) and Gujarat (Lothal, Rangpur etc.) were vehementally flooded before being vacated[11]. Mohenjodaro people braved the calamity[12] while Surkotada (near Lothal) and Harappa (near Ravi) were totally spared[13].

Time - framed topography explains (cf. the annexured diagram) a diagonal shift on either side of the tectonic bislant. The main (Hakra-Nara-Wahinda) network of rivers shifted northwest while a tributary to Hakra (which is most probably the Saraswati of the Vedas) called Palaeo - *Yamunā* shifted southeast.[14] This change, alongwith a proximal (=upstream) dry-up of the Hakra around mid - 3rd millennium B.C.[15] depleted surface water source as well as the under-ground water table in Kalibangan. Simultaneously Sind was being gradually encroached by the same network distally (=downstream), being still fed by Sutlej.[16]

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[8] • Marshall, S.J. (1931) : *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilisation* (3 Vol.) Arthur Probstain.
• Dales (1964) : "The Mythical Massacre of Mohenjodaro", *Expedition,* No. 16(3) 36-43.

[9] • Raikes. R.L. (1964) : "The End of Ancient Cities of Indus" - *American Anthropologist* 66 (2) 284-99.
• Raikes, R.L. and Dales G.F. (1977) : "The Mohenjodaro Flood Reconsidered". *The Journal of Palaentological Society of India* 20 : 251-60.

[10] • Lambrick H.T. (1967) : "The Indus Flood - Plain and Indus Civilisation" - *The Geographical Journal,* 133 (4) 483.
• Possehl, G.L. (1967) - "The Mohenjodaro Floods : A Reply -" *American Antropologist* 69 (1) 32-40.
• Agrawal, D.P. (1971) : *The Copper Bronze Age in India* - Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi.

[11] • Lal, B.B. (1979) : "Kalibangan and Indus Civilisation" - *Essays in Indian Protohistory* (eds. Agrawal, D.P.; Chakrabarty D.K.; p. 95) : B.R. Publishing Corp., Delhi.
• Ghosh, A. : "Deurbanisation of the Haraptan Civilisation" - p. 382, (Lt. para 2) H.C.

[12] Dales, G.F. : "Mohenjodaro Miscellany" - Para through p. 103-104, HC.

[13] Vishnu - Mittre : cf. (4), Para through p. 36-37.

[14] Agrawal, D.P. and Sood, R.K. : "Ecological Factor and the Harappan Civilisation" - F. 19.4 p. 228, HC.

After the great flood of 2000 B.C. or a repeat attack a century ahead, the relatively safe period (1800 - 1500 B.C.)[17] let establishments settle again and thrive well until the last trail of the river dried up at the end of 2nd millennium B.C.[18] giving rise to today's Thar desert.

Thus this safer period witnessed a forsaken area of prior settleemnts. In this age of already deurbanised Late Harappan culture, immigration of the nomadic Aryans started sporadically.[19]

Thereby, the bane of inundation that ruined the aborigines became a boon for the immigrants. The Aryans, well aware of that flood, ascribed it to their revered god *Indra* who might be a historic personality in command at that time.[20] But once these Aryan settled down, a similar spate of 'favour' turned into a sea of troubles.

After this suffering[21] *Indra* as a champion of rain and flood was on decline while the following dry - up episode was really a festive time for the Aryans. This time, the grace was ascribed to *Kṛṣṇa,* the coeval seer in spiritual command (providing a plot for the future story of *"Govardhana-Dhāraṇa"* by which *Kṛṣṇa* countered the flooding fit of *Indra*).

This sigh of relief is evident in the contemporary Vedic verse too[22], which compares

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15. Mughal, M.R. : "Recent Archaeological Research in the Cholistan Desert" - p. 94, HC.
16. Ghosh, A. : cf. (11) p. 382 (Lt. para 2), HC.
17. Singh, G. (1971) : "The Indus Valley Culture - Archaeology and Physical Anthropology" in *Ocenia,* 6(2) : 188-89.
18. = (15) cf.
19.
    - Lal, B.B. : "West Was West and East Was East" p. 397, H.C.
    - Allchin, F.R. : "The Legacy of Indus Civilisation" p. 385-393, H.C.
    - Eduljee, H.E. (1980) : "The date of Zoroaster" - *Journal of K.R. Cama Oriental Research Institute* (48) 134-135.
20. *Ā Tū Na Indra Kauśika :* 1.10.11 RV. (Indra in the lineage of Kuśika)
21. ... *Sindhurṇa kṣodā urviyā vyasvait, aminatī daivyāni vratāni ...* 1.92.12, RV. (= it spreads like flood-water that doesn't destroy the divine) (the verse is most probably a post flood composition justifying the survival of its seer).
22. ... *Suparṇā vācamakratopa dyavyākhare kṛṣṇa iṣira anartiṣuḥ... :* 10.94.5 RV.

black clouds rowing through the blue sky metaphorically to a multitude of *Kṛṣṇa* dancing in a lair. Here *Kṛṣṇa* is after (mis-) taken synonymous to *Kṛṣṇa-mṛga* = black-buck[23] (Zoologically, *Antelope Cervicarpa* Linn.) But a black - buck or any other dear - like animal never inhabits a pit or lair except chiru, the Tibetan antelope (Zoologically *Pantholops hodgsoni* Abel.) that is found at a height of 12000 - 18000 feet (obviously out of Aryan reach and recognition) with wooly golden coat all over (and thus not a black-buck at all).[24]

Of this literary simile, the **vehicle** (dark - complexioned *Kṛṣṇa* dancing in the lair against a blue sky) turned into the **tenor** of *"Kāliya - mardan"* story in future (here *Kṛṣṇa* really dances in the lair of *Kāliya,* the serpent, against a background of *Yamunā* water that's traditionally called to be bluish).

Āngirasas in the Vedic age were mostly worshippers of *Indra* including *Ghora Āngirasa* and his disciple *Kṛṣṇa Āngirasa.*[25] But after the cited glorification, *Kṛṣṇa's* family lineage (*Kṛṣṇīya*) and spiritual heirarchy (*Kārṣṇi*) were known by his own name.[26]

Kṛṣṇa as a worshipper of *Indra* never belittled the latter (as evident in the Vedic verses and upto the *Gītā*[27]) as it was done by his devotees later on. But by the process of "divine take - over" many emblems of *Indra* were transferred to *Kṛṣṇa* (interestingly enough, *Sudarśana cakra* is one of the examples.[28])

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[23] for example,
- Mac. Donell *(The Vedic Index)*
- Śrīpāda Dāmodar Sātavalekar (RV)

[24] *The Wealth of India : Raw Materials Series Vol. IV* (F-G) ed. 1988 p. 120-121, CSIR, PID, N. Delhi.

[25] cf. (2) and 3.36.10, RV.

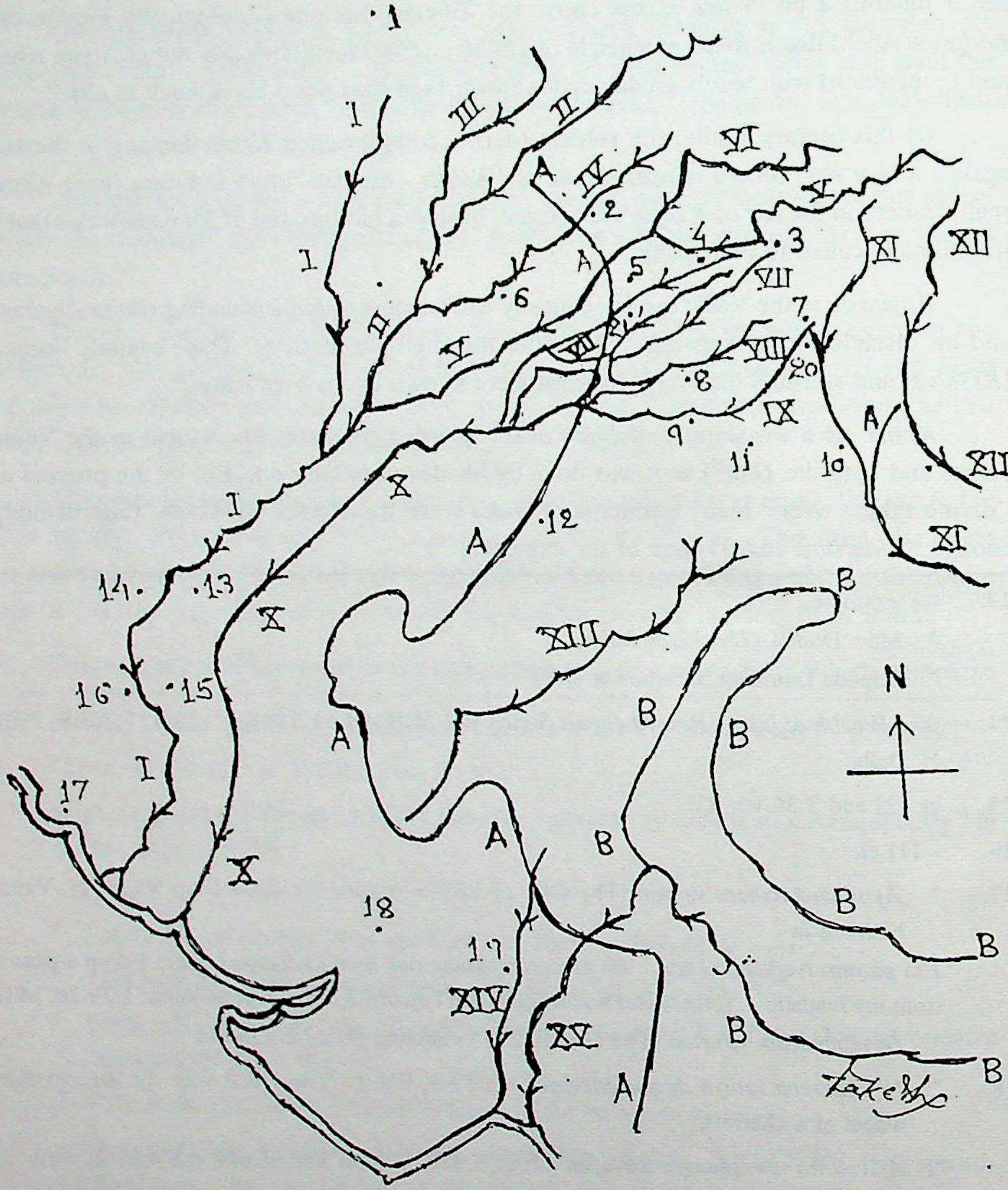
[26] = (1) cf.

[27]
- *Āyudhānāmaham vajram* (The Gītā 10.28) (= Among weapons I am Vajra) cf. Vajra belittled in

  Eṣa patram tyajyāmyekam ... Na hi vajranipātena rujā meti kadācana (=Here I drop a penna from my feathers ... (otherwise) no any infliction I incurred through your Vajra, 1.29.20, MB)
- *Devānāmasmi vāsavah* (The *Gītā* 10.22) (= Among gods I am Indra)

[28]
- *Ni chakreṇa rathyā duṣpadenāvṛṇak* - 1.53.9, RV. (= You killed with the inaccessible wheel of a chariot).
- *Ājāvadrim vāvasānasya nartayan* - 1.51.3. RV. (= You fended with the Adri as wirl).

cf.
- *Kṣurāntamudyamya bhujena cakram rathādavaplutya visṛjya vāhān.* - 6.55. 86, MB (= Leaving the reins, (then) pulling apart that razor - edge (Cakra) from Ratha and weilding it in hand .....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Rakesh

1. Peshawar
2. Lahore
3. Ropar*
4. Ludhiana
5. Faridkot
6. Harappa*
7. Bhagawanpura*
8. Banawali*
9. Siswal*
10. Delhi
11. Mitathal*
12. Bikaner
13. Kotdiji*
14. Mohenjodaro*
15. Chanhudaro*
16. Amri*
17. Karachi
18. Surkotada*
19. Lothal*
20. Kurukṣetra*
21. Bhatinda

I. Indus R.
II. Chenab R.
III. Jhelum R.
IV. Ravi R.
V. Sutlej R.
VI. Beas R.
VII East, Central and West Naiwal R*.
VIII Ghagghar R*.
IX Chautang R*.
X Hakra Wahinda Nara R*.
XI Yamuna R.
XII Ganga R.
XIII Luni R.
XIV Sabarmati R.
XV Mahi R.

- Marginal area beyond A ‹ 200 metres above sea level
- Central area with B › 500 metres above sea level
- Between two A lines but outside B loop = 200-500 metres above sea level.
- Plain single lines - isobase contour lines.
- Plain double lines - sea-coast
- Arrowed single lines - river courses. (I, II, III etc.)

(* indicates archaeological significance.)

RV = *The Ṛgveda* (ed. Śrīpāda Dāmodar Sātavalekar) Svādhyāya Mandala, Pardi)

MB = *The Mahābhārata* (ed. Belvālkar and Sukthānkar, Bhandarkar Oreiental Research Institute)

HC = *Harappan Civilisation* (ed. Gregory L. Possehl, 2nd edn. 1993 from Oxford and IBH Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd.)

શ્રી સયાજી સાહિત્યમાળા

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૩૬૦	વનૌષધિકોશ - પ્રો. કે. કા. શાસ્ત્રી	૩૫.૭૫
૩૬૧	સહસ્ત્રલિંગ અને રુદ્રમહાલય - (સ્વ.) શ્રી કનૈયાલાલ ભા. દવે	૭૯.૦૦
૩૬૨	વૈષ્ણવતીર્થ ડાકોર - (સ્વ.) ડૉ. મંજુલાલ ૨. મજમુંદાર	૪૮.૦૦
૩૬૧	વુદ્ધત્રયી અને લઘુત્રયી - (સ્વ.) ડૉ. બાપાલાલ ગ. વૈદ્ય	૩૩.૦૦
૩૬૩	વડોદરા એક અધ્યયન - ડૉ. આર. એન. મહેતા	૪૪.૦૦
૩૬૪	મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ ત્રીજા - (સ્વ.) પ્રો. હસિત બૂચ	૪૯.૦૦
૩૬૫	નાભાજીકુત ભક્તમાલના ઐતિહાસિક ભક્તો-એક અધ્યયન-શ્રી મૂળશંકર હિ. કેવલીયા	૪૪.૦૦
૩૬૬	લેસર-શ્રી પદ્મકાન્ત ૨. શાહ	૪૮.૦૦
૩૬૮	અર્વાચીન સંસ્કૃત સાહિત્યનો ઈતિહાસ-(અનુ.) એ. જે. રાવલ અને વી. એસ. લેલે	૧૮૮.૦૦
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૩૧૭	આહાર વિજ્ઞાન-(પુનઃ મુદ્રણ) ડૉ. જયશંકર ધ. પાઠક અને (સ્વ.) અનંતરાય મ. રાવળ (૧૯૯૧)	૬૦.૦૦
૩૭૨	ભવાઈ : સ્વરૂપ અને લક્ષણો -, કુષ્ણકાંત ઓ. કડકીયા	૧૯૩.૦૦
૩૭૩	શ્રીમદ્ ઉપેન્દ્રાચાર્યજી - લવકુમાર દેસાઈ	૧૯૫.૦૦
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ELEMENTS OF INDIAN METAPHYSICS*

R.T. VYAS**

1. The Vision of 'Ekaṁ Sat' One Being :

The seer-poet Dīrghatamas, in a hymn gives voice to the vision of the *ṛṣis*-the seer-poets of the Vedic period, as *'ekaṁ sat'* One Being, which is described by them as Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa and the like[1]. This *'ārṣa darśana'* - the perception of the sages[2] is the foundation of Indian metaphysics-rather-metapsychics. Divested of the contemporary ritualistic overtone, this statement means that nature, with all its evolutes like space, fire, air, water, earth and their multiple permutations, is the manifestation of the one Being. This Being or Existence as it manifests as all existents, cannot be bare existent like an inert object, but must be conscious of its being unitary and infinite existence. The form of this Being which is also consciousness is 'ahaṁ', 'I', later designated as 'ātmā', Self[3] or 'Brahma', the Great. This is corroborated by Yāska who in his *Nirukta*, commenting on this *mantra* says :

इममेवाग्निं महान्तमात्मानमेकमात्मानं मेधाविनो बहुधा वदन्ति इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निं दिव्यं च गरुत्मन्तम् । दिव्यः दिविजः गरुत्मान् गुर्वात्मा महात्मा इति वा । यस्तु सूक्तं भजते यस्मै हविर्निरूप्यते अयमेव स अग्निः । एते उत्तरे ज्योतिषी (विद्युत्सूर्यौ) एतेन नामधेयेन भजेते ।

- *Nirukta,* 7.4.18

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[1] इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहुरथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥ Ṛgveda, 1.164.46

[2] साक्षात्कृतधर्माणः ऋषयो बभूवुः ते अवरेभ्यः असाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्यः उपदेशेन मंत्रान्प्रादुः ॥ निरुक्तम, १.६.२०

[3] आत्मैवेदमग्र आसीत्पुरुषविधः सोऽनुवीक्ष्य नान्यदात्मनोऽपश्यत्सोहमस्मीत्यग्रे व्याहरत् ततोऽहंनामा ऽभवत् ।
Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad 1-1 "Self alone was this (world) in the beginning, in the form of person. He, looking aroud, did not see anything other than himself. He uttered 'ahaṁ' in the beginning, therefore, was named as "ahaṁ".

"The wise sages describe this *Agni*-this great *ātmā,* the One Self-variously as Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni, the divine Garutman. Divine because born in heaven and called 'Garutmā' as it is *Gurvātmā*-great self, *mahātmā,* the supreme Self to whom the hymns are addressed and oblations offered. It is this (terrestrial Agni) by whose nomenclature the higher celestial luminous bodies (the lightning and the sun) are known".

He further confirms :

स न मन्येतागन्तूनिवार्थान्देवतानाम् । प्रत्यक्षदृश्यमेतद् भवति । माहाभाग्याद्देवताया एकः आत्मा बहुधा स्तूयते । एकस्यात्मनः अन्ये देवा प्रत्यङ्गानि भवन्ति प्रकृतिसार्वनाम्याच्चेतरेतरजन्मानो भवन्ति इतरेतरप्रकृतयः कर्मजन्मानः आत्मजन्मानः । आत्मैवैषां रथो भवति आत्मा अश्वः आत्मा आयुधम् । आत्मा सर्वं देवस्य देवस्य ।

-*Nirukta,* 7.1.4.

"one should not think the descriptions regarding the deities as adventitious, for it is a matter of direct perception. Because of the supreme greatness of the divinity, one Self is eulogised variously. Of the one Self, the other deities are organs. Because their origin is the same, the universal pronoun *(ahaṁ) is applied to them;* they are said to have been born mutually, arising mutually, born of action, born of the Self. The Self is their chariot, horse, weapon, arrows. In fact, the Self is everything pertaining to the divinity".

Because the common origin of all gods is the one Being named 'ahaṁ' or *'ātmā',* anyone of them to whom a hymn is addressed, can be considered as the supreme divinity, the other deities being his manifestations. Max Muller called this phenomenon as 'henotheism'. This, in fact, is the perception of unity of existence-oneness of Divinity or God-head, which was further pursued and culminated in non-dualism, for in the absolute unity of Godhead, the duality of the perceiver and perceived is transcended. This is why in the *Ṛgveda* are found expressions like "He is all" and "I am all". To illustrate :-

एकं॒ वा इ॒दं वि ब॑भूव॒ सर्व॑म् ।
"The one, indeed, has became this all" - Ṛgveda, (R.V.) 8.58.2
पुरु॑ष ए॒वेदं सर्वं॒ यद् भूतं यच्च॒ भाव्य॑म् ।
"Pursuṣa alone is all this that has been and shall be". - R.V. 10.90.2
अदि॑तिर्जा॒तमदि॑ति॒र्जनि॑त्वम् ।
"Aditi is what has been created and what shall be created" - R.V. 1.89.10
यो दे॒वानां॑ नाम॒धा एक॑ ए॒व । - R.V. 10.82.3

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4. The 'One Being', the one self is symbolised by Agni-fire-as it illuminos all, being itself self-luminous, like that 'One Being' which is also consciusness and as such it self-luminous while illumining all existents. This immortal Agni abides among mortals : मर्त्ये॒ष्व॒ग्निर॒मृतो॒ निधा॑यि । *Ṛgveda,* Y.4.4

He who bears names of gods is but one.

इ॒यं मे॒ नाभि॒रि॒ह मे॑ स॒धस्थ॑मि॒मे मे॑ दे॒वा अ॒यम॑स्मि॒ सर्वः॑ । R.V. 10.61.19

"This is my centre, this is my locus, these are my deities (i.e. my organs), this is I, the all".

अ॒हं मनु॑रभवं॒ सूर्य॑श्च॒ । - R.V. 4.26.1

"I became Manu and also the sun".

अ॒हं रु॒द्रेभि॒र्वसु॑भिश्चराम्य॒हमा॑दि॒त्यैरु॒त वि॒श्वदे॑वैः - R.V. 10.125.1

"I move about in the form of Rudras, Vasus, Adityas and all gods".

This immanance of divinity in all that exists should not be construed as pantheism, for though the One Existence permeates all existents, it, at the same time, not being exhausted in them, transcends them and remains in its nature of pure Being, beyond. The seer Nārāyaṇa in his *puruṣasūkta* states :

पादो॑ऽस्य॒ विश्वा॑ भू॒तानि॑ त्रि॒पाद॑स्या॒मृतं॑ दि॒वि । - R.V. 10.90.3

"All the beings are one quarter of this *puruṣa,* his three quarters are immortal in the heaven".

In other words, the oneness of Godhead, is not exhausted in all existent things and beings, but extends beyond them and remains immortal and changeless in his transcendental unitary nature.

ए॒तावा॑नस्य महि॒माऽतो॒ ज्याया॑ँश्च॒ पूरु॑षः । - R.V. 10.90.3

"This much is his greatness, but the puruṣa is still greater".

To know that the one Being is at the core of our limited being is the way to become all :-

ब्रह्म वा इदमग्र आसीत्तदात्मानमेवावेदहं ब्रह्मास्मीति तस्मात्तत्सर्वमभवत् । तद्यो देवानां प्रत्यबुध्यत स एव तदभवत् तथर्षीणां तथा मनुष्याणाम् । तद्धैतत्पश्यनृषिर्वामदेवः प्रतिपेदेऽहं मनुरभवं सूर्यश्चेति ।

- *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad,* 1.4.10

"Brahma, verily, this (world) was in the beginning, it knew itself as I am Brahman, therefore, it became all. Among gods whoever knew that, he, verily, became that. Similarly, among seers and human beings. Perceiving that, indeed, the seer Vāmadeva exclaimed" I became manu and the sun".

Because the One manifests as all and that 'One' is Being- consciousness, felt as I in the heart and therefore it is the self or *ātmā,* it stands to reason that by knowing this one *ātmā,* everything else becomes known. If one wants to know all, one should know the

Self :

आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः ... आत्मनो वा अरे दर्शनेन ... विज्ञानेन इदं सर्वं विदितम् ।

- *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad,* 2.4.5

"Self, verily, should be seen; by seeing and knowing the Self, all this (universe) becomes known".

To make it clear that no one can know the world by trying to know it externally, the illustrations of drum, lute and conch are given :-

स यथा दुन्दुभेर्हन्यमानस्य न बाह्यान् शब्दान् शक्नुयाद् ग्रहणाय । दुन्दुभेस्तु दुन्दुभ्याघातस्य वा शब्दो गृहीतः ।

"As one cannot grasp the external sound of a beaten drum, but by grasping the drum or its beating, the sound is grasped[5]".

2. Application of the concept of "One Being" :

The *mantra* which states the fundamental truth that *'ekam sat'* manifests as all Nature's elements, equates it with Agni-fire[6]. This is clear by the use of the word agni twice. It is made clear earlier that the fire stands as a symbol for the one 'Being-consciousness' or 'I' because it illumines all, being itself self-luminous. This equation of all gods with fire gave rise to the idea that since fire devours whatever is offered unto it, it can serve the purpose of the mouth for all gods and that whatever is offered into fire reaches all gods directly, as water offered to the root reaches to all the parts of the tree. This is the reason for the development of the ritual of fire-cult, present till date in all religious traditions of the world in one form or other. The procedure of sacrifice signifies the fact that one ensures appropriate distribution of nourishment to all by offering it to the root of everything. And the root or source of everything is the one Being-consciousness symbolised by fire.

This is borne out by a typical question and its definite answer in the *Ṛgveda,* 8-58-1-2.

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[5] Shri Ramaṇa Maharshi, in this regards says : "One cannot hope to measure the universe as an exterior entity, and study the phenomena. It is impossible. For the objects are mental creations. To measure them is similar to trying to stamp with one's foot on the head of the shadow cast by oneself. One must reach the Self in order to reach the universe."

- *Talks with Sri Ramana Maharshi,* Tiruvennamalai, 1994, p. 463.

The word "uni-verse" also denotes the diversity (creation) reducible into the unity (creator, God or Self).

[6] अग्निः सर्वा देवताः । *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,* 6-3

"Agni is all gods."

यमृत्विजो॑ बहुधा क॒ल्पय॑न्त॒ः सचे॑तसो य॒ज्ञमि॒मं वह॑न्ति ।
यो अ॑नूचा॒नो ब्राह्म॒णो युक्त आ॑सी॒त्का स्वि॒त्तत्र॒ यज॑मानस्य सं॒वित् ॥

"In this sacrifice which is executed by the ever-alert officiating priests who consciously imagine it, though one, variously, and in which a Brāhmaṇa, a wise seer of *mantras* (literally, one who speaks after seeing the truth), is employed, what is the consciousness of the sacrificer ?"

To this query, the answer is as follows :

एक॑ ए॒वाग्निर्बहुधा समि॑द्धः ए॒कः सूर्यो॒ विश्व॒मनु प्रभू॑तः ।
ए॒कैवोषा सर्व॑मि॒दं विभा॒ति एकं॒ वा इ॒दं वि ब॑भूव॒ सर्वम् ॥

"Only one Agni is kindled variously; one sun illumines the universe, one dawn, verily, makes all this to shine; one, indeed, has become all this."

The teaching is clear : as a single fire-principle burns in various shapes, depending upon the medium through which it manifests, the unitary Being-consciousness - the one Godhead - through its intrinsic power, expresses itself as many. This vision of the unity of existence, attained directly in one's own centre, makes one perceptive and entitles him to be called ṛṣi-a seer-poet who presides over the sacrificial session and ensures its flawless execution. Such a seer who conducts the ritual worship is aware of its goal : the identity of the worshipper and the worshipped :

योऽन्यां देवतामुपास्तेऽन्योऽसावन्योऽहमस्मीति न स वेद । यथा पशुरेवं स देवानाम् ।

- Br. up., 1.4.10.

"He who worships another deity thinking He is another and I am different from Him, does not know. He is like an animal to the deities".

But he who, knowing the unity of Godhead, offers oblations into fire offers them unto all :-

यदेवं विद्वानग्निहोत्रं जुहोति तस्य सर्वेषु लोकेषु सर्वेषु भूतेषु सर्वेष्वात्मसु हुतं भवति ।

- Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, 5.24.3

"He who, knowing this unity, offers oblations into fire, verily offers them unto all worlds, all beings and all creatures".

The fire established in front of a sacrificer, is the same as the Being-consciousness, *"cidagni"*, in his heart and as it is present in all living beings it is called *"vaiśvānara"*. He

who worships him as such eats food in all beings : "यस्त्वेतमेवं प्रादेशमात्रमभिविमानमात्मानं वैश्वानरमुपास्ते स सर्वेषु लोकेषु सर्वेषु भूतेषु सर्वेष्वात्मसु अन्नमत्ति ।

- Chh. Up. 5.18.1

He who, knowing his self as Vaiśvānara- the life-principle present in all beings, as in one organism, worships as such, eats food in all worlds, beings and creatures.

The contrary is also true, namely, when such a knower eats, all beings are satisfied :-

स यां प्रथमामाहुतिं जुहुयात्तां जुहुयात्प्राणाय स्वाहेति । प्राणस्तृप्यति, प्राणे तृप्यति चक्षुस्तृप्यति ... आदित्यस्तृप्यति ... द्यौस्तृप्यति यत्किञ्च द्यौश्चादित्यश्चाधितिष्ठतस्तत् तृप्यति ।

- Cha. Up. 5.19.1-2.

"And, when he offers the first oblation, he should offer uttering" *prānāya svāhā,* I offer unto *prāṇa.* Then *Prāṇa* is satisfied. Prāṇa being satisfied, the eye is satisfied ..... the sun is satisfied ... the heavens are satisfied, and also all that are presided over by the sun & heaven are satisfied[7]".

This proves that though spirit's existence transcends the categories of existent and non-existent, it, at the same time, permeates all levels of existence : physical, psychic and parapsychic.

3. Criticism for mere memorising *mantras* without the "Vision".

Yāska speaks of two classes of 'ṛṣis' : *sākṣātkṛtadharma* and *asākṣātkṛtadhama,* that is, those who have perceived the truth of "One Being" and those who have not. The latter failed to grasp the spirit behind the *mantras* and the rituals based on them and gradually developed vested interest in them, and in fullness of time, invited censure upon themselves. In the *Ṛgveda* itself such priests are criticised severely :-

न तं विंदाथ॒ य इ॒मा ज॒जाना॒न्यद्युष्माक॒मन्तरं बभूव ।
नी॒हारेण॒ प्रावृताजल्प्यां चासुतृपं उक्थ॒शासंश्चरन्ति ॥

- Ṛgveda, 10.82.7

"You don't know Him who created all these beings, for your consciousness is of different type : you are covered by mist (of ignorance) : you talk irrelevantly : You wander about uttering vedic hymns with a view to satisfying your carnal cravings".

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[7] This is corroborated by the instances of Shri Krishna, Shri Ramakrishna Paramahaṁsa and Shri Ramanad Maharshi who said they ate through all mouths.

ऋ॒चो अ॒क्षरे॑ पर॒मे व्यो॑म॒न्यस्मि॑न्दे॒वा अधि॒ विश्वे॑ निषे॒दुः ।
यस्तन्न वेद॒ किमृ॒चा क॑रिष्यति॒ यइत्तद्वि॒दुस्त इ॒मे समा॑सते ॥

- *Ṛgveda,* 1.164.39

"The *ṛks* are in the supreme space (of consciousness) where all gods also abide. He who does not know that, what he will accomplish by the *ṛk* ? Those, indeed, who know that, sit with composure".

The *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad,* 1.2.7-10 contain stringent criticism of those who hold the path of rituals as the supreme good by using strong words, such as "deluded, ignorant, blind led by the blind, self-conceited, vagrants, subject to repeated birth and death". The *Bhagavagītā* 2.42-45 calls them *"vedavādaratāḥ",* engrossed in vedic argument but who are really" *avipaścitaḥ,* ignorant of the highest goal of human life, and incapable of attaining *"samādhi".* Having said all this Shri Kṛṣṇa advises Arjuna :-

त्रैगुण्यविषया वेदा निस्त्रैगुण्यो भवार्जुन ।

- B.G. 2.45

"The Vedas deal with three *guṇas,* reach beyond them, Arjuna".

He further tells him that a wise knower - a true Brāhmaṇa-can have only that much use of all the Vedas, as in a small well, when there is sweet water all around, B.G. 2.46.

The Buddha was critical of the Vedas as not containing a clear statement of highest truth and the path leading to it.

So far as this criticism of the Veda is concerned, it needs to be borne in mind that the Ṛgveda itself initiates the criticism of those who simply memorise or recite the hymns without knowing the "one Being" which is the final import of all hymns and the root of the world-tree. This criticism implies its contrary, namely, the existence of those sages who know the "one Being" and eulogised it in their hymns variously. There is a hoary tradition of such wise sages. The R.V. refers to or पथिकृत् path-finders. The very title "Veda" signifies knowledge in its triple aspect of knower, knowledge and the known-the source of natural religion, philosophy and science. This is confirmed by the Lord when he says :

वेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेव वेद्यो वेदान्तकृद्वेदविदेव चाहम् ।

- B.G., 15.15

"I am to be known by all the Vedas, I am the author of Vedanta and also the knower of the Veda".

What has been criticised is not the Veda or knowledge but the misconception that the word-collection called Veda constitutes knowledge, whereas the fact of the matter is that real knowledge is the perception of the "one Being" in one's own heart gained directly through one-pointed thought, as directed in the scriptural utterances. This is made clear in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad,* 7.1.4 which designates all knowledge in word - form, starting with the *Ṛgveda* as-*nāmaiva tat* "all that is name only". Moreover, the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad,* 1.1.4-5 speaks of two classes of knowledge-*parā vidyā*-higher knowledge and *aparā vidyā*-lower knowledge. The latter consists of all the Vedas and other branches of knowledge and the former is that by which the imperishable principle is known - अथ परा यया तदक्षरमधिगम्यते ।

The foregoing discussion proves that true knowledge transcends verbal representation and arises in one's heart when it is thoroughly purified by selfless work and constant meditation. Thus Veda is utterance of those who perceive the "One Being". This is the spiritual or mystic experience of communion with the Divine. Therefore, to consider the ancient collection of ṛks and their exposition in the Upaniṣads only as the Veda, is wrong. Later sages upto Shri Ramkrishna Paramhamsa and Shri Ramaṇa Maharshi too are authoritative as the Veda.

4. Devices for clear understanding of that "One" :-

When a seer-poet speaks of the "One Being", he is trying to report his direct perception of the reality which is essentially unreportable, for absolute unity rules out the possibility of all transactions involving duality. And yet he cannot sit silently, for the knowledge of reality, through only realised in silence, has to be communicated for the benefit of the posterity. For this purpose, he employs the most appropriate devices. The seer Prajāpati in his Nāsadīyasūkta R.V.10.129 states :-

> नास॑दासी॒न्नो सदा॑सीत्त॒दानीं॒ नासी॒द्रजो॒ नो व्यो॑मा प॒रो यत् ।
> किमाव॑रीवः॒ कुह॒ कस्य॒ शर्म॒न्नम्भः॒ किमा॑सी॒द् गह॑नं गभी॒रम् ॥
>
> न मृ॒त्युरा॑सीद॒मृतं॒ न तर्हि॒ न रात्र्या॒ अह्न॑ः आ॑सीत्प्रके॒तः ।
> आनी॑दवा॒तं स्व॒धया॒ तदेकं॒ तस्मा॑द्धा॒न्यन्न प॒रः किं च॒नास॑ ॥

"Non-existent then was not, nor existent, neither space nor empyrean beyond. What covered all and where or what was the resting place ? Were there waters deep and unfathomable ? Then was neither death nor deathlessness, nor any sign of night or day. "That One" breathed breathless by intrinsic power, none other then that was there whatsoever."

This is the process of negation of all attributes and also the subtle and gross layers of creation, denoted by the terms *asat* and *sat*-in order to arrive at the absolute unity of

Being. Its implications are worked out in the Br. Up. 2.3.6. where the famous double negation *"Neti neti"* - not this, not this-is employed as a ruse for the realization of the non-dual Self.

The expression *"nāsat no sat"*-neither non-existent nor existent-rules out the existence of any subtle or gross created being or thing in the beginning i.e. before creation, but it does not -cannot - rule out pure Being or Existence, for the hymn itself asserts : "That One breathed breathless by intrinsic power". And "that one" is also to be designated as *"sat"*, Existence, and not existent which also is denoted by sat, for otherwise it may be conceived as void, as erroneously done in later Buddhism and was refuted thoroughly by the followers of the Vedic-Upaniṣadic-school. Here can be seen the inadequacy of language which has no word to denote "That One Existence" beyond both *sat* and *asat*-existent and non-existent-and therefore has to be designated by the term *sat. sat* denotes both Existence and existent, though it does not bring out the fine difference between them. This must happen when the sage attempts to communicate that which is incommunicable or what can be communicated in silence alone.

After ascertaining the nature of the state of "That One" by the appropriate process of negation, the *Nāsadīyasūkta* takes up the delineation of the process of its manifestation as many. Logically, if the "One Being" is conscious of its unity and infinity, the condition for the rise of a second cannot come into being, and the question of creation characterised by multiplicity cannot arise. Therefore, the hymn speaks of darkness, the principle of ignorance, concealing the consciousness of that "One Being" with regard to its unity and infinity, a condition-brought about by it's self-will. From this primal darkness, desire-*kāma*-the first seed of mind emerged. Thus the sages, through one-pointed intellect, found the kin of Existence in the midst of non-existent, in their own heart :

तम॑ आसी॒त्तम॑सा गूढमग्रे॑ अप्रके॒तं स॑लि॒लं सर्व॑मा इदम् ।
तु॒च्छ्येना॒भ्वपि॑हितं॒ यदासी॒त्तप॑स॒स्तन्म॑हि॒नाऽऽजा॑य॒तैक॑म् ॥

काम॒स्तदग्रे॒ सम॑वर्त॒ताधि॒ मन॑सो॒ रेत॑ः प्रथ॒मं यदासी॑त् ।
स॑तो ब॒न्धुमस॑ति॒ निर॑विन्दन् हृ॒दि प्र॒तीष्या॑ क॒वयो॑ मनी॒षा ॥

Thus, according to the seer Prajāpati, the process of creation has mainly three stages :- (1) The "One Being" aware of its unity, infinity and perfection (2) The principle of darkness of ignorance covering its status as eternally aware unity, and (3) The emergence of desire, consequent upon the ignorance of its true unitary nature, the seed of mind or ego-the point of self-differentiation-which is responsible for creation. This sequence of creation is ideo-rational rather than spatio-temporal for a wise sage like Shri Ramaṇa Maharshi can live constantly in absolute identity with the One Being, even while functioning in the world. Even an advanced meditator can abstract himself ideally from the external world and instantly gain an insight into the One Being by a single act of will, recognise it to be his true identity and feel free. This hymn is concluded by saying : "who, indeed, knows, who can say wherefrom this creation has arisen ?" This is not scepticism of an atheist, but an assertion of the futility of all attempt at ascertaining rationally the nature of the creation externally, as it has arisen from the darkness of ignorance of the true, unitary nature of the "One Being". The hymn deals with the stages of creation simply for retracing one's steps in reverse order and realise the truth of the "One Being".

This is one device for a clear understanding of the "One Being" and its relation to the many. The sage Nārāyaṇa in his *Puruṣasūka,* R.V. 10.90 adopts another device for the same purpose. He hypothetically divides the one indivisible Being into four quarters, the one quarter comprising all beings - the whole creation -what has been and shall be with its non-manifest and manifest aspects, and the remaining three quarters comprising his real immortal nature, extending beyond in the heaven :-

पुरु॑ष ए॒वेदं सर्वं॒ यद्भू॒तं यच्च॒ भाव्य॑म् ... । Verse 2

ए॒तावा॑नस्य महि॒माऽतो॒ ज्यायाँ॑श्च॒ पूरु॑षः ।
पादो॑ऽस्य॒ विश्वा॑ भू॒तानि॑ त्रि॒पाद॑स्या॒मृतं॑ दि॒वि ॥ Verse 3

The seer Nārāyana is traditionally accepted as the first preceptor in the line of teachers of the doctrine of non-dualism, logically expounded by Śri Śaṅkarācārya. The implications of the four quarters of the *puruṣa* are worked out in the *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad* which analyses the experience of the ordinary three states of waking, dream and deep sleep, falling in the first quarter, and the underlying and surviving fourth state, comprising the three remaining quarters of the *puruṣa,* standing for his real immortal nature. The three states, though forming a fraction of the supreme person, need to be transcended in order to arrive at his true immortal nature. One who perceives this true nature of the divine and merges into it, finds the creation to be unreal. Thus the non-duality and reality of the supreme person and unreality of creation-the foundational doctrines of non-dualism-are rooted in this hymn of the *Ṛgveda.*

5. The path leading to the realisation of the "One Being" :-

The description of the state before creation in negative terms indicates the methodology for the realisation of the "One Being" which the seer-poet had attained. For otherwise, how could he report that 'then' there was nothing whatsoever apart from 'That

One' that breathed breathless through intrinsic power. The absolute unity of the Being is limitless and prevails ever, even when its real nature is concealed through self-will and consequently creation characterised by multiplicity takes place. The principle of concealment is said to be *"tuccha"*, trivial, for by proper and serious enquiry into one's own being, this darkness of ignorance can be removed and the absolute unity can be realised. But for this purpose, the very first step is turning one's attention from the external multiplicity and fixing it to the internal unity. The word *"uni-verse"* significantly conveys this methodology : the *diversity* reducible to *unity* should actually be resolved into its unitary source. The understanding of the underlying unity in the diversity of the world is the sole key to its understanding that is, the understanding of the "thing in itself". As knowing gold is tantamount to knowing all ornaments of gold, similarly knowing the One Existence is knowing all existents.

Because, in the beginning the "One Being", through self-will, sacrificed its status as the one, ever-perfect, ever-aware principle, by concealing its true nature, in order to give rise to the second principle, the condition in which creation became a possibility, self-sacrifice is the law governing the creation. No new state or thing can arise until its previous state is sacrificed.

It is necessary to see that there are no two beings, one infinite and the other finite; there is, in fact, only one infinite Being that by self-limitation appears as a finite being, who according to the basic divine law of creation, must sacrifice his status as separate, finite being in order to regain his original nature as the unitary, ever-perfect Being.

Since creation began with the self-sacrifice of the absolute unitary being, it is sustained and governed by the same law of sacrifice, and perfection or the goal of Nature's evolution is attained by self-sacrifice alone. Such are the divine primeval ordinances :

य॒ज्ञेन॑ य॒ज्ञम॑यजन्त दे॒वास्तानि॑ धर्मा॑णि प्र॒थमान्या॑सन् । *Ṛgveda,* 10.90.15

The path is also the same that was adopted for the manifestation of the one Being, through complete darkness of forgetfulness of the basic unity, emergence of desire-the mother of psyche or soul who, for more and more concrete manifestation, passed through subtle dimensions of Being and finally arrived at the gross level. This same path has to be followed but in reverse order, penetrating through gross and subtle layers of being, with due caution and alertness not to get lost into the primordial darkness the principle of utter ignorance, - because that is the most powerful obstacle that must be crossed over to arrive at the enlightened state of absolute non-dual Being-the supreme Divine person who must be realised with full awareness. He who has accomplished this inner journey is the sage who can declare :-

> वेदा॒हमे॒तं पुरु॑षं म॒हान्त॑मा॒दित्यव॑र्णं तम॑सः प॒रस्ता॑त् ।
> त॒मे॑व वि॒दि॒त्वा॒ऽति॑ मृ॒त्युमे॑ति॒ नान्यः॑ पन्था॑ वि॒द्यतेऽय॑नाय ॥

- *Yajurveda,* 31.18

Crossing over the darkness of igordance of one's true nature as the perfect unitary being, is the only path leading to immortality.

It should now be clear that One Being - Consciousness - bliss through its inherent power manifests itself as I, thou, he, it and appears as the universe. By proper self-enquiry it regains its original unity. On restoration of the unity, it is known that it was never lost, though temporarily it appeared as if it was lost. This has been the end and purpose of Indian metaphysics, the elements of which are embedded in the ṚGVEDA, its implications worked out in the Upaniṣads, and a fuli-fledged, well-reasoned system of philosophy constructed by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. This system was confirmed on experiential ground by the modern sage Śrī Ramaṇa Maharshi.

This is the secret of the power and indestructibility of Indian civilization which should enable man as a unit on earth to learn, recognise and achieve his natural and existential objective.

THE GAUḌAPĀDA-KĀRIKĀ AND ŚUDDHĀDVAITA

N.M. KANSARA*

The *Gauḍapāda-kārikā,* also known as the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* is an exposition of a short but important Upaniṣad called the *Māṇḍūkya,* which is counted as one of the principal Upaniṣads by all the schools of Vedānta[1], so much so that the *Muktrikopaniṣad* declares that for the liberation of those who desire release the *Maṇḍūkya* alone is enough[2]. The work consists of four *Prakaraṇas,* named *Āgama-prakaraṇa, Vaitathyaprakaraṇa, Advaita-prakaraṇa* and *Alātaśānti-prakaraṇa,* containing 29, 38, 48 and 100 verses, respectively. The *Kārikās* are memorial verses the purpose whereof is to expound in a metrical form an aspect of a subject or a particular doctrine so that it would be easy to memorize it. But, unlike the *Sūtras* which have the same object, the *Kārikās* are verses which are not so brief nor cryptic[3], and which indicate profound meaning in a few words[4]. Gauḍapāda's work, being a *Kārikā,* is not a commentary *(bhāṣya)* on the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* in the usual sense of the term. It is only in the first chapter that the *Mantras* of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* are expounded. The other three *Prakaraṇas* follow the lead of the Upaniṣad and seek to establish the Advaita doctrine adopting different modes of reasoning[5].

The *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* presents Advaita in a different mode in that the concepts used here are in some measure borrowed from Buddhist idealism, rather than from Sāṅkhya as is the case with the *Paramārthasāra* of Ādi Śeṣa which also is an early Advaitic work and possesses significant points of identity. Probably Gauḍapāda wrote his work on the analogy of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyama-kārikā* with a view to make it occupy a position in Advaita

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[1] Mahadevan, T.M.P. - *'Gauḍapāda A Study in Early Advaita',* (GSEA) University of Madras, 1960, p. 31.

[2] *Mukti Up.,* 1.2 : *''Māṇḍūkyam ekam evālaṁ mumukṣūṇāṁ vimuktaye /''*

[3] Mahadevan, GSEA, p. 31

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

similar to that of the latter in the Mādhyamika Buddhist system. Since Gauḍapāda lived and taught in an age when the Mahāyāna Buddhism was having a great hold on the minds of people, his task as a teacher of Vedānta at such a time was naturally twofold, namely, to convince the followers of the Upaniṣads that their path was sound, and to spread the knowledge of the Vedānta among the Buddhists themselves. To secure this twofold objective, it would seem, Gauḍapāda adopted the logical method of expounding the Vedānta and the Buddhistic modes of expression and argumentation. Thus, although the texts of the Upaniṣads are invoked, they are cited not too often, nor in a dogmatic manner. For the most part the appeal that Gauḍapāda makes is to reason, and, what is more, to experience. He speaks with a voice of authority derived from the intuitive experience of the Absolute and he utilizes his logical discipline in expounding the truth of Vedānta. It is no wonder, then, that Śaṇkarācārya, who upheld the cause of Advaita Vedānta and pays homage to Gauḍapāda as one of his highly venerable predecessor-teacher, was drawn to his teachings and found in them the spring of eternal life. And, the *Kārikā* unfailingly impresses upon all of its readers the genius of its author for spirituality, its deep mysticism with a penetrating philosophy, and a poetic vision with a logical mind[6].

Gauḍapāda's teachings provided the firm foundation on which Śaṅkarācārya and his successors in the Advaita field, built their edifice of detailed, analytical exposition of the Advaita doctrine[7]. Thus, Śaṅkarācārya propounded, as the spiritual successor of Gauḍapāda, not only the *Māyāvāda* adumbrated by his *'paramaguru'* Gauḍapāda, but expounded, promulgated, framed and established the same by his acute intellectual powers, unparalleled expository skill, and relentless logical reasoning[8]. Gauḍapāda, being more interested in establishing the doctrine of non-origination *(ajāti-vāda)* does not go into details as to how the origination is illusion or appearance. It was left for Śaṅkarācārya to make this more explicable. Śaṅkrācārya, on his part, gives more thought to the establishment of the *Avidyā* or *Māyā* doctrine. In fact, it may be said that *Ajātivāda* and *Māyāvāda* are but two sides of the same shield, viz., Advaita; and *Avidyā* is declared to be *Sad-asad-vilakṣaṇā* and hence *Anirvacanīyā.* We, therefore, find Śaṅkarācārya's successors using all their ingenuity to explain the real nature of *Avidyā,* by resorting to one or other of the theories of *Avaecheda, Pratibimba, Ābhāsa,* and etc.[9]

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[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

[7] Karmarkar, Raghunath Damodar - *'Gauḍapāda-kārikā'*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1953, Introduction, pp. xlvii-xlviii.

[8] Abhyankar, M.M. Vasudev Shastri - *'Siddhāntabindu by Madhusūdanasarasvati'*. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1928, Sanskrit Introduction, pp. 4-5.

[9] Karmarkar, *op. cit.,* Intro., pp. 1-1i.

With this ideological background of the *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* (GK) in view, it is rather curious and surprising to find that Puruṣottama (about 1668-1754 A.D.), a staunch Suddhādvaitin, should have commented upon the verses of Gauḍapāda, the grand-teacher of Śaṅkarācārya. Vallabhācārya, the founder of the Śuddhādvaita doctrine of Vedānta, himself did not write commentaries on the Upaniṣads; this task has been taken up by Puruṣottama, who was the son of Pītāmbara, who in turn was one of the grand-sons of Viṭṭhaleśa one of the two sons of Vallabhācārya. And, naturally, he has explained the Upaniṣad and the *Kārikās* from the point of view of Śuddhādvaita.[10]

Purusottama's commentary, called the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad-dīpikā,*[11] explains and comments upon not only the prose passages of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad,* but also upon the first two chapters of the *Gauḍapāda-kārikā.* While only the extant manuscript of the work contains the commentary upon the first and the second chapter of the *Kārikā,* Puruṣottama seems to have intended to comment upon the other two - third and fourth - chapters also[12], though this part of the work is either lost or could not be actually written by the author for some reasons which we have no means to guess. Anyhow, it is interesting to examine the way in which Puruṣottama has tried to explain some of the crucial verses of both the first chapter, called *Āgama-prakaraṇa,* and *Vaitathya-prakaraṇa,* from the Śuddhādvaita standpoint.

The three verses beginning with *'Anādi-māyayā supto..'* and ending with *'.. jñāte dvaitaṁ na vidyate'* (GK., 1.16-18) propound that when the individual Soul, asleep, owing to the beginningless *Māyā,* is awakened, he then realises the unborn, sleepless, dreamless non-duality[13]; that if the projected creation *(prapañca)* were (really) existing, it would continue to be, no doubt. (But) this duality is just *Māyā* (illusion, appearance); (there is only) non-duality in reality[14]; and that if (some) illusion is imagined by some one, it is liable to (or could) be turned away. This statement (involving *Vikalpa,* is) on account of its usefulness for) instruction; when (the Highest is) known, duality does not exist.[15]

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[10] Shastri, A.D. - *'Puruṣottamaji : A Study',* Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Surat, 1966, pp. 149-150; Purusottama - *'Mandukyopaniṣat Sa-gaudapadakārikā* - Sa-vyākhyā Ca' (MD), Pushtimarga Karyalay, Bombay, V.S. 1980 (= 1924 A.D.), *Maṅgala-śloka,* viz., *"Natvā śrī-vallabhācārya-caraṇau puruṣottamaḥ / Māṇḍūkyaṁ tat-kṛpā-dṛṣṭi-balena vyākaroti hi //"*

[11] Edited by Bhatt Ramānātha Shastri.

[12] Shastri, A.D., *op. cit.,* p. 150.

[13] Karmarkar, *op. cit.,* p. 5.

[14] *ibid.,* p. 6.

[15] *ibid.*

In his introduction to the *Āgama-prakaraṇa* Śaṅkarācārya, in his commentary of the GK, remarks thus : For the purpose of determining (the sense of) *Oṁkāra* is (written) the first *prakaraṇa* which abounds in Scriptural passages *(āgama-pradhānam)* and which is the means for knowing the true nature of the self. When the world of duality is resolved, and the non-dual is known, as when the serpent, etc., imagined in the rope are resolved, the rope which is real is cognized.'[16]

At this point Puruṣottama explains GK. 1.16 thus : The word *'anādi-māyayā'* (= owing to the beginningless *Māyā)* indicates that when one qualifies *(adhikāre jāte),* and consequently the invariably concomitant knowledge of the true nature *(svarūpa-jñāna)* of ones Self dawns, then one knows the Fourth stage (*turīya*) of the above-mentioned nature.[17] Therein, too, the use of the word *'yadā'* (= when) implies that this accomplishment takes effort on one's part *(etad-yatnena prāptiḥ);* at the same time it is also indicated that this happens at the Final Time of Dissolution *(parānta-kāle),* in view of the scriptural passage *'Vedānta-vijñāna-suniścitārthāḥ' (Muṇḍakopaniṣad,* 3.2.6); otherwise it would not have been stated, since it was already implicitly known from the previous verse.[18] The verse GK. 1.17, beginning with the word *'Prapañca',* is intended to show to those with different type of spiritual equipment *(bhinnādhikāriṇām)* who do not want to tolerate any further delay *(vilambāsahiṣṇūnām)* that the duality is of the nature of the intermediate creation, so that their imaginative outlook is removed and the realization of all-pervading Brahman dawns to them.[19] The verse GK› 1.18, beginning with *'Vikalpo vinivarteta'* is in support of the previous statements.[20] Then, Puruṣottama explains that if the imagined *(kalpita)* various idea *(vikalpa)* be mental, it may be removed *(nivarteta)* specifically *(viśeṣto)* by some or other worship or Yogic and other means; in that case when the mind is purified due to instruction and the Fourth Stage *(turīya)* is realized, this discussion *(vāda)* in the form of duality which

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16. *"Tatra tāvad oṁkāra-nirṇayāya prathamaṁ āgama-pradhānam ātma-tattva-pratipattyupāyabhūtaṁ, yasya dvaita-prapañcasyopaśame-'dvaita-pratipattī rajjvām iva sarpādi-vikalpopaśame rajjutattvapratipattiḥ /"* p. 8 of *'Sa-gauḍapādīya-kārikā-'tharvavedīya-māṇḍūkyopaniṣat'* edited by Vishṇu Ābāji Kāthavaṭe, Anandashram Sanskrit Series, No. 10, Poona, 1900; Mahadevan, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

17. MD., pp. 25-26 : *"Anādimāyayeti tu adhikāre jāte tato nāntarīyake svasvarūpa-jñāne jāte turīyaṁ pūrvokta-rūpaṁ jānātityevaṁparam /"*

18. ibid., *"Tatrā'pi yadeti padād etad-yatnena prāpatiḥ, kintu 'Vedāntavijñāna-suniścitārthā' iti śruteḥ parānta-kāla iti sūcyate / Anyathā pūrva-ślokenā' sya gatārthatvād etam na vadet /"*

19. ibid., *"Prapañco yadīti tu bhinnādhikāriṇāṁ vilambāsahiṣṇūnāṁ vikalpabuddhi-nivṛttaye sarvatra brahma-sphūrtaye ca dvaitasyāntarāsṛṣtirūpatā-bodhana-param /"*

20. *ibid., "Vikalpo vinivarteteti tu pūrvoktasyaiva poṣaṇāya/"*

generates difference or duality does not persist. It means, when all are realized as non-different from that *(= Turīya)*, since the duality too cannot go beyond it, it too, being of the form of previous knowledge, becomes Brahman only.[21] It seems quite remarkable here, when Puruṣottama brings in *Muṇḍaka* passage to interpret this removal of duality and dawning of non-duality as pertaining to those who reach this Fourth Stage at the time of final dissolution, or when he consigns it to those having different spiritual equipment. Apparently, he seems to be justified in view of the reference to Vedānta in both, and he seems to regard this discussion in these *Kārikās* pertaining to those well-versed in the Vedāntas, i.e. the *Jñānamārgīs,* who as compared to the *Maryādā-mārgīs,* according to Śuddhādvaita point of view, are but inferior to the *Bhakti-mārgīs,* i.e. the *Puṣṭi-mārgīyas;* of course he does not specify this here.

As has been very lucidly elaborated by Manilal N. Dvivedi,[22] the Advaita theory leads to the ethics of universal unity - the essence of love - called *abheda* (non-separateness) by Gauḍapāda, Śaṅkara and other writers. *Abheda* is the keynote of Advaita ethics. The enlightened forget all *bheda,* and realise everything as the All. This need not mean that the realization of *abheda* leads to entire cessation of activity or action, for one who has realised *Abheda* as neither active nor inactive, he acts and yet does not act, as the *Bhagavadgītā* (4.18) puts it. For the only thing required is unlearning the false habit of localising all sensations in space, instead of referring them to the subject within. This practice leads to knowledge of *Ātman* which is the same in all, and thus opens the way to that *Abheda* which is realized even in the variety of active experience. He who has realised this *Abheda,* has lost himself in the universe, in every thing and all things which make up the universe. He breathes with the breath of nature, sees with the eye of the All, and thinks with the thoughts of every being. He is the All. This is described in Advaita works by saying that *Mokṣa* is attained by *Jñāna;* that knowledge leads to liberation. That knowledge leads to *Mokṣa* is true in the sense that full knowledge of the absolute substratum *(adhiṣṭhāna),* i.e. *Ātman,* demolishes all obstacles in the way of complete realization of the native condition of *Ātman.* Knowledge only shows as within oneself what was deemed to be lost, to be beyond grasp, and therefore beyond Self.

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[21] *ibid., ''Kalpito vikalpo mānaso yadi kenacit upāsanena yogādi-sādhanena mā (? vā) viśeṣato nivarteta / Tadā śuddhe cetasi upadeśāj jñāte turīye ayaṁ vādaḥ bhedāpadakatvād dvaita-rūpo na vidyate / Sarvasya tad-abhinnatve jñāte bhedasyāpi tad-anatirekāt so' pi pūrva-buddha-rūpa'dvaito brahmaiva bhavatītyarthaḥ /''*

[22] Dvivedi, Manilal Nabhubhai - *'The Māṇḍūkyopanishad with Gauḍapāda's Kārikās and the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara'.* Eng. Tr., Bombay Theosophical Publication, Bombay, 1909, Introduction, pp. xlii-xliii.

The six verses of the Second, i.e., *Vaitathya Prakaraṇa,* viz., 17-19 *(Aniścitā yathā rajjur ... tāvad ātman-viniścayaḥ//)* and 29-31 *(Yaṁ bhāvaṁ darśayed yasya .... yayā saṁmohitaḥ svayam//)* propound thus : As the rope, (with its nature) not definitely ascertained in the dark, is imagined to be (possessed of the nature of) entities like the serpent, (water-) line etc.; so likewise (is) *Ātman* imagined (to be all sorts of things). When the rope is definitely ascertained (as the rope), the imagened attribute turns away, and the non-duality (emerges) in the form *(iti)* '(This is) the rope itself'. So likewise, (takes place) the ascertainment of *Ātman.* *(Ātman)* is imagined to be *Prāṇa* (life) etc., and these innumerable entities. This (is) the *Māyā* of that shining one *(Ātman)* by which (he) himself has been deluded.[23]

Here Puruṣottama explains that in the verse beginning with the words *'Aniścitā'* etc., describes another type of imagination, different from the one described in the previous verse. That is why the preposition *'vi'* has been mentioned here, in the words *'vikalpitā'* and *'vikalpitaḥ'* then, what is meant is that the idea in the verse beginning with *'Vikaroti'* (GK. 2.13, viz., the *Ātman,* outward-minded, diversifies other entities ..) is in the form of diversified imagination *(vikalpanā),* but here it is not the same sense of the word, or entity.[24] By way of introducing the verse 18 and 19, Puruṣottama says that these two verses propounds the destructibility of the *Vikalpanā* through knowledge, since it is imagined due to ignorance or false knowledge. Advaita is like the ascertained rope. When known in all its form it serves to dispel the knowledge of imagined duality.[25] Just as here are the entities in the form of rope which are the substratum of serpent and water-line, in the same way since the *Ātman* is of all forms, many forms similar to those part-forms, such as Prāṇa, etc., are variously imagined. Just as in that case darkness is the cause of non-determination, similarly in this case the cause of non-ascertainment is the *Māyā* of the Supreme Lord, who imagines both the *Atman* and Non-*Atman,* who is divine and who is sporting.[26] Explaining the second half of the verse 18, Puruṣottama says that the statement *'Māyā eṣā tasya devasya*

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[23] Karmarkar, *op.cit.,* p. 14.

[24] MD., p. 45-46; "*.. Vikaroty aparān ity anenokta-kalpanāyāḥ prakāram āha - aniścitetyanena / Ata evā'tra vyupasarga uktaḥ / Tathā ca vikarotīti ślokokta-kalpanā vikalpanārūpa'tra, na tu tatra padārthaḥ sa ity arthaḥ /*"

[25] *ibid.,* p. 46 "*Niścita-rajjuvad advaito bhavati / Sarvākāratvena jñātaḥ kalpita-dvaitabhāva-jñāna-nivartako bhavatīty arthaḥ /*"

[26] *ibid.,* "*Tathā ca yathā'tra rajjvākāra-sadṛkṣaḥ sarpādhārādi-bhāva evam ātmanaḥ sarvākāratvāt tat-tad-ekadeśākāra-sadṛkṣā aneke prāṇādibhāvās tair vikalpitās tatra yathā'ndhakāro 'niścaya-hetur evam atraiṣā' niścaya-hetu-bhūtā tasyātmānaṁ kalpayitur devasya krīḍataḥ paramātmano māyā /*"

yayā ayaṁ mohitaḥ svayam' means that the type of the form of the Supreme Lord *(paramātmā)* by which this soul is deluded is the *Māyā,* i.e. the Lord Himself; thus the very form of the Supreme Lord which makes the soul to be deluded is itself *Māyā.*[27] And, in support of this interpretation Puruṣottama quotes *Bhāgavata,* to the effect that as a result of that *Māyā,* the Brahman which was absolute, non-diversified, and beyond the scope of speech and mind became diversified.[28] This throws overboard those who hold that the nature of *Māyā* is non-existent, or different from existence or non-existence. The imaginator is also said to be the one who has been deluded. This implies that the deluded form of the Self is the soul.[29] And, to justify this point, Puruṣottama reminds us about the *Bhagavadgītā* (15.7) and the *Brahmasūtra* (2.3.43) in which the individual soul is declared to be but a part *(aṁśa)* of the Supreme Self.[30] This is quite ingenius and logically tenable.

The GK verses 29-31 propound as follows : What entity (one) would present to one, he again sees that entity. And that (entity), having assumed his form, protects him; strong attachment to that (entity) encompasses him. This *(Ātman)* is noticed as indeed separate, owing to these entities (though really) non-separate. One who knows thus as the real state of things, may imagine (*Ātman* to be anything) without hesitation. As are seen dream and illusion (*māyā*), as (is seen) the *Gandharva*-city (castle in the air), so is seen this universe by the well-versed in the Vedāntas.[31]

On these Puruṣottama remarks by way of introduction[32] that since the knowers of the respective parts do not have the full knowledge and there is the persistence of delusion, and since it is impossible to posit whether they have attainted absoluteness *(kaivalya)* or not, the question about the usefulness of partial knowledge arises; on this occasion the utility as also the type of that knowledge is elaborated in the next two verses (29-30). Then he

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27. *ibid.,* p. 47 : *"Yayā'yam jīvaḥ mohito bhavati tādṛk-prakārakaḥ svayaṁ paramātmaiva māyety arthaḥ / Tathā ca jīva-mohakaṁ paramātmanaḥ svarūpaṁ māyeti phalati /"*

28. *ibid., "Ata evaikādaśa-skandhe 'tan māyā-phala-rūpeṇa kevalaṁ nirvikalpitam / Vāṅ-mano-gocarātītaṁ dvidhā samabhavad bṛhad //* '(Bhāg, Pu. 11.24.3) *iti bhāgavatoktam /"*

29. *ibid., "Tenāsatīti sad-asad-vilakṣaṇeti māyā-svarūpaṁ vadanto nirastāh/kalpako'pi mohita-kathanenaivoktaḥ / Tena mohitam ātma-svarūpaṁ jīva iti phalati /"*

30. *ibid., "... 'Aṁśo nānā-vyapadeśāt' (Br. sū. 2.3.43) ... 'Mamaivāṁśo jivaloke jīvabhūtaḥ .. (BG., 15.7) ..."*

31. Karmarkar, *op.cit.,* p. 17.

32. MD., p. 49 : *"Ataḥ param ekaikāṁśa-vidaḥ pūrṇa-jñānā- 'bhāvena mohasyāpi satvāt kaivalya - tadabhāvayor aśakya-vacanāt kiṁ-phalam ekaikāṁśa-jñānaṁ ca teṣāṁ katham ityākāṅkṣāyāṁ prasaṇgāt phalaṁ tajjñāna-prakāraṁ cā' ha dvābhyāṁ yam iti ślokābhyām"*

explains the first verse thus : He who perceives a particular entity also perceives the perceiver of that entity. The word *'ca'* is in the sense of *'api'*; that means, the knowledge which is also variegated due to non-knowledge *(ajñāna-śabala)*. Having become that, and having manifested in the form of its perceiver for the sake of confirming that knowledge, he protects him from all obstacles, etc. This is the axiliary utility.[33] Its main one is declared through this illustration. *'Tad-gṛhaḥ' (? tad-grahaḥ)* = *'Tadāśryaḥ'*. Having resided in it, or having become solely established in it, he attains his own self as being of the nature of the respective entity. *'Samupaiti'* = *'Prāpnoti'*. Being engrossed in it he becomes of the nature of it; this is the sense. Or, he preserves that entity in the form of *Prāṇa*, etc., in his mind; ever goes on referring.[34]

Explaining the verse 31, Puruṣottama says : Dream *(svapna)* is a particular mode *(vṛtti-viśeṣaḥ)* of the internal organ *(antaḥkaraṇa)* which causes the sleep. Illusion *(māyā)* is well-known from magic, etc.; in them a very beautiful-looking *Gandharva*-city is created.[35] The way in which these are made to appear, in the same way this universe, intended by the protagonists of duality as becoming an object of the worldly sight is seen; as they are seen, so is this seen.[36] That means, even though appearing to be beautiful (this universe) is seen to be false *(mithyā-bhūtam)* by those well-versed in the Vedāntas; or is seen as narrated in the Vedāntas as similar to dream and illusion, though not known by those who know the purport.[37]

The last, i.e. 38th, verse of the *Vaiththya Prakaraṇa* declares that having realised the truth relating to within the body, having realised as well the truth from outside (that is, relating to objects outside), having become the Reality, delighting in it, one should not be slipping away from the reality.[38] On this Puruṣottam remarks as follows : Creation is of two types; that of the nature of the Lord, and that which is illusory. The first is of three subtypes, viz., the creation of the enjoyer, the outer creation of enjoyment, and the inner creation of that which is enjoyable by the soul. Although it is threefold, it is real, because it is internal. The second is of two types, viz., outer and inner. Among these the inner is unmethodical *(avyavasthita)* while the outer one is methodical *(vyavasthita).* This latter is twofold, differentiated as it is as waking and dream. Therein too the outer in the waking state is created like a different world *(lokāntara)* outside of the sense-organs. In this way all these creations are false, because it has a beginning and an end.[39]

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[33] *ibid.*, pp. 49-50 : *"Yaḥ yaṁ bhāvaṁ paśyati taṁ tadbhāva-dṛstāram api / co'pyarthe / Ajñāna-śabala-jñānam apity arthaḥ / Sa bhūtvā tajjñanadārḍhyāya tad-draṣṭṛbhāva-rūpaḥ āvirbhūya sarva-vighnādibhyo rakṣati / īdam avāntara-phalam /"*

[34] *ibid.*, pp. 49-50 : *"Paramaṁ tasyāha asau dṛṣṭntaḥ / Tad-graha tadāśrayaḥ / Tad-grahas tad-ekaniṣṭho vā tat-tad-bhāvātmakam ātmānaṁ samupaiti prāpnoti / Tasmiṁl līnas tadātmako bhavatītyarthaḥ /"*

[35] *ibid.*, p. 51 : *"Svapno nidrā-hetuko 'ntaḥkaraṇa-vṛtti-viśeṣaḥ / Māyā injrajālādau prasiddhā / Gandharva-nagaram utpadyate teṣu dṛśyamānam ati-sundaa-puram /"*

[36] *ibid.*, *"Tāni dṛṣṭāni yathā yena prakāreṇa bhavanti idaṁ bheda-vādyabhimataṁ dṛṣṭaṁ laukika-dṛṣṭi-viṣya-bhūtaṁ viśvaṁ tathā tena prakāreṇāstīti viśeṣaḥ / Yathā tathā vā idaṁ dṛṣṭam /"*

Now, in the case of the first type, it is the Lord who is the cause, while in the case of the second the instrument is *Māyā.* Therein, the delusion is the medium. But the agent is the Lord who is sporting. This being the case, even the unhappiness is also generated due to delusion, and hence one should remove the delusion in order to remove the unhappiness. And, the delusion being generated due to ignorance, the latter should be dispelled. Therein, the means is the knowledge of the non-duality of Brahman.[40]

Herein, there are four viewpoints : (1) Everything is illusory, and only Brahman which is formless is real; (2) The Lord with one of the forms in *Prāṇa,* etc., is real, all else is unreal; (3) According to the doctrine of duality, everything falls in the category of illusory; and (4) Throbbing of Brahman everywhere, preceded by the knowledge of being all, and knowledge of non-duality with partial Brahman; this latter is the established conclusion *(siddhānta).* This knowledge of partless non-dual Brahman is the result in the form of realization.[41]

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37. *ibid., "Arthāt sundaratayā bhāsamānam api mithyābhūtaṁ vedānteṣu vicakṣaṇair vedānta-nipuṇair dṛṣṭaṁ, vedānteṣu vā vividhaiḥ svapnamāyā-nibhatvādi-kathanair dṛṣṭaṁ, na tātparyābhijñair avagatam /"*

38. Karmarkar, *op. cit.,* p. 19.

39. MD., p. 54 : *"Sṛṣṭir dvividhā bhagavad-rūpa māyikī ca / tatrādyā tridhā / Bhoktṛ-sṛṣṭiḥ bāhya-bhoga-sṛṣṭir ādhyātmika-bhogya-sṛṣṭiś ceti/Sā trividhā'pi satyā, nityatvāt / Dvitīyā bāhyā'bhyantara-bhedena dvidhā / Tatrā'bhyantarā avyavasthitā / Bāhyā vyavasthitā / Sā dvidhā'pi punar dvividhā jāgrat-svapna-bhedena / Tatrā'pi Jāgrati yā bāhyā sā indriyād bahir lokāntareva jāyate / Evaṁ sarvā'pi māyikī mithyā, ādyantatvāt /"*

40. *ibid.,* pp. 54-55 : *"Prathamāyāṁ kāranaṁ bhagavān / Dvitīyasyāḥ karaṇaṁ māyā / Tatra moho dvāram / Kartā tu bhagavān eva krīḍan / Evaṁ sati dhuḳhasyā'pi mohajatvāt tan-nivṛttaye moho nivartanīyaḥ / Sa cā'jñānajanmety ajñānaṁ nivartanīyam / Tatra sādhanam brahmādvaya-jñānam /"*

41. *ibid.,* p. 55 : *"Tac caturdhā / Sarvaṁ māyikaṁ brahmaiva nirākāraṁ satyam ity ekadeśi-matam / Prāṇādiṣv ekaika-rūpo bhagavān, itaran mithyety aparaika-deśināṁ matam / Bhedavāda-siddhaṁ tu sarvaṁ māyika-koṭau niviśati / Sarvata-jñāna-pūrvakaṁ sarvatra brahma-sphūrtiḥ sakhaṇḍabrahmādvaita-jñānam tat-siddhante'dhikāra-rūpam / Akhaṇḍādvaita-jñānaṁ sākṣātkāra-rūpam phalam /*

This is very lucid, logical and quite in confirmity with the text of the verse of the *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* discussed here. In view of this discussion we can surely agree with Dr. A.D. Shastri when he remarks that Puruṣottama should be compared with great commentators like Vācaspati Miśra, Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa and Jayatīrtha, and that he is surely an independent thinker and though he passes his own comments on the concepts of the other systems also, he is a follower of the Śuddhādvaita, from the first to the last. At the same time, Puruṣottama successfully performs the difficult task of explaining the theories of Vallabhācārya, analyse them and then indulge in argumentation, and thus stands out as the strongest and greatest exponent of the Śuddhādvaita.[42]

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[42] Shastri, A.D., *op. cit.*, pp. 408-409.

THE CONCEPT OF DREAM IN KEVALĀDVAITA VEDĀNTA

SHUCHITA Y. MEHTA*

Kevalādvaita Vedānta has secured a unique place in the history of Indian Philosophy. It is obvious that the purport of each and every branch of philosophy has been to render the possible solution to the riddle of the world of appearance. *Kevalādvaita Vedānta* has achieved its goal by presenting the doctrine of Non-duality. It affirms *"Nitya Śuddha Buddha Mukta" Brahman,* the non-dual Sentiency as the ultimate Reality. This seeming multiplicity of names and form, *Jagat, Jīva, Īśvara,* Scriptures is projected as *Avidyā.* Hence these are unreal *(mithyā).*

It is interesting to know that in order to emphasize the *'mithyātva'* of this world of appearance, the concept of 'Dream' has been put forth and applied by the upholders of this tradition. It is our common experience that in a dream, objects are found as having relative nature. That is to say, for the time being things appear, but when we are awake, they disappear. Similarly, the objects of this world of appearance also exist on a temporary basis. We experience that nothing remains permanent. Hence the relative nature of the objects of the world of appearance compels one to compare it with a dream. In this context, it would not be out of place to mention the three types of existence *(sattā)* namely,

1. *Pāramārthika Sattā* - The Ultimate existence
2. *Vyāvahārika Sattā* - The empirical existence
3. *Prātibhāsika Sattā* - The illusory existence

- as put forth by the thinkers of this tradition. Amongst these three types of *Sattā,*

(1) *Brahman,* the non-dual Sentiency has *Pāramārthika Sattā.* It is the ultimate Reality and exists permanently.

(2) *The World of appearance* exists relatively. That is to say, all the practical dealings seem to be real until the dawn of knowledge. After the dawn of knowledge, everything except Brahman seems unreal *(mithyā).*

(3) *Illusory things* are known as *prātibhāsika* e.g. Dream, mirage etc.

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Here, it is noteworthy that Śaṅkara and the upholders of *Sṛṣṭi-Dṛṣṭivāda* accept the *Vyāvahārika Sattā* (the empirical reality) of the world of appearance until the dawn of knowledge. On the other hand, Gauḍapāda, Prakāśānanda and the upholders of *Dṛṣṭi-Sṛṣṭivāda* emphasize the world of appearance as *prātibhāsika* like a dream ! Nevertheless, as Brahman, the non-dual Sentiency is the ultimate Reality, everything except it, is proved *mithyā*. And in this context, no illustration other than 'dream' can be applied.

Trace found in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad :-

The main topics of inquiry that the upaniṣadic seers presented were *Brahman, Jīva* and *jagat*. They were not intended to emphasize any particular concept that may lead to any particular branch of philosophy. Of course ! Their main concentration was to put forth the Non-dual Sentiency as the Ultimate Reality.

Now, so far as the concept of 'Dream' is concerned, it is found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣada*, in the context of creation.[1] It is stated, "There are no chariots, nor animals to be yoked to them, no roads, but he created chariots, animals to be yoked to them, and roads. There are no joys, no pleasures, no delights, but he creates joys, pleasures and delights. There are no tanks, no lotus pools, no rivers, but he creates tanks, lotus pools and rivers. He indeed, is the creator.[2] Of course, this does not point out the tendency to compare the world of appearance with a dream. But it clearly stresses that in a dream, things are illusorily projects. They do not exist in reality.

Here, it would not be out of place to mention the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣada,* which has put forth the states *(Avasthā)* of the Sentiency namely - *jāgrat, svapna* and *suśupti.* In *svapna,* the *Jīva* is self-manifest. The Br. Up. has mentioned the self luminosity of the self with reference to the dream state. (Br. Up. IV-3-9 अत्र अयं पुरुषः स्वयं ज्योतिर्भवति ।) The very same point has been put forth in the *praśnopaniṣad* also (pr - up. IV - 5 - अत्रैष देवः स्वप्ने महिमानमनुभवति ।)

Thus, in the upaniṣadic period, we find the concept of dream put forth to indicate the concept of creation.

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[1] Bṛhadāraṇkaya Upaniṣad-IV-3-10. Radhakrishnan (ed) The Principal Upaniṣads-(1953) George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Also see - Hume Robert Ernest - The thirteen Principal Upaniṣads, fifth impression (1962) Oxford Uni. Press.

[2] न तत्र रथा न रथयोगा न पंथानो
भवन्त्यथ रथान्रथयोगान्पथः सृजते न तत्रानंदा
मुदः प्रमुदो भवन्त्यथानंदान्मुदः प्रमुदः सृजते न तत्र
वेशान्ताः पुष्करिण्यः स्रवन्त्यौ भवन्त्यथ वेशान्ता
पुष्करिणीः स्रवन्तीः सृजते । स हि कर्ता ॥ -Bṛ. - Up. IV-3-10.

Gauḍapāda :-

We find a full fledged application of the concept of dream in the *Gauḍapādakārikā*. Gauḍapāda, the propounder of Acosmism (Ajātivāda), has very subtly and logically discussed the concept of dream in the *vaitathya Prakaraṇa of Gauḍapādakārikā*. Emphasizing *Ajātivāda*, he has forcefully condemned the world of appearance, putting it on the same level as the dreaming sate !

"All the objects, which we perceive in a dream are experienced in the body, eventhough there is no ample space for them. Both time and space are not regulated properly in the dreaming state. The dreamer goes to another country in a very short period of time, which is something impossible. And, on waking from the dreaming state, the dreamer does not find himself in the country he saw during the dreaming state. In several respects the world of waking state resembles the dream world. The only difference prevailing between them is that, in the dream, things are experienced internally, while in the waking state, things are perceived externally. During the dreaming state the objects imagined by one with an introvert 'citta' are *mithyā* and whatever is seen by one with an extrovert 'citta' though appearing as real is also *'mithyā'*[3]

It seems that the only concentration of Gauḍapāda is on denying the reality of the world of appearance on the basis of its relative nature. All the external as well as internal objects are simple imagination. The only difference is that, while the objects imagined within exist till the mind keeps on imagining; on the other hand the objects of the external world exist relatively.[4] In order to emphasize his idealism, Gauḍapāda has effectively applied the criterion of the concept of the dream.

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[3] 1. वैतथ्यं सर्वभावानां स्वप्र आहुर्मनीषिणः ।
अन्तःस्थानान्तु भावानां संवृतत्वेन हेतुना ॥ -*Gauḍapāda Kārikā* -II-1.

2. अन्तःस्थानात्तु भेदानां तस्माज्जागरिते स्मृतम् ।
यथा तत्र तथा स्वप्ने संवृतत्येन भिद्यते ॥ G.K. II. 4.

3. स्वप्नजागरिते स्थाने ह्येकमाहुर्मनीषिणः ।
भेदानां हि समत्वेन प्रसिद्धेनैव हेतुना ॥ G.K. II. 5.

4. जाग्रद्वृत्तावपि त्वन्तश्चेतसा कल्पितं त्वसत् ।
बहिश्चेतो गृहीतं सद्युक्तं वैतथ्यमेतयोः ॥ G.K. II. 10 Also seen G.K. II-31, III-10.

[4] चित्तकाला हि येऽन्तस्तु द्वयकालाश्च ये बहिः ।
कल्पिता एव ते सर्वे विशेषो नान्यहेतुकः ॥ G.K. II. 14
- *The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda*, Bhattacharya Vidhushekhar (ed). University of Calcutta. (1943)

Śaṅkara :-

Śaṅkara's name has become synonymous with Kevalādvaita Vedānta. Unlike Gauḍapāda, he has applied a rather practical outlook to emphasize the doctrine of Kevalādvaitavedānta He has accepted the empirical reality of the world of appearance until the dawn of knowledge. But after the dawn of knowledge, everything except *Brahman* seems unreal *(mithyā).*

Śaṅkara has put forth every concept by applying two types of view points. i.e. (91) Pragmatic view point; (2) Ultimate view point.

From the pragmatic view point, Śaṅkara differentiates the waking state from the dreaming state. From this point of view he does not consider both the states as identical. It is noteworthy that the *Vijñanvāda* admits the world of appearance as unreal like a dream. As a dream, mirage, etc are perceived so pillar etc are perceived during the waking state; for there is no difference in their being knowledge.[5] Hence there is no difference between the object appearing during the dreaming state as well as during the waking state. But Śaṅkara refutes this view; and emphasizes that external objects do exist. In respect of an already existing thing we do not have the experience - "It is as if it were existing". "Śaṅkara cites the example that no one says that Viṣṇumitra appears like the son of a barren women.[6]

Thus, it is clearly seen that Śaṅkara, while affirming the empirical reality of the world of appearance has admitted difference between the dreaming state and the waking state. But from the ultimate stand point he states that after the dawn of knowledge, everything apart from *Brahman* seem unreal like a dream.[7]

Here, it would not be out of place to mention the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi.* Of course, its authorship is doubtful. But as it is attributed to Śaṅkara, we would like to refer to it so far as the concept of 'Dream' is concerned. Strikingly enough, the author of the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* follows the path of Gauḍapāda. We find the similarity of the waking and the dreaming state mentioned in the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi.* It is stated, "In the dreaming state, not a single thing exists, but it is the mind itself, which creates the world consisting of the enjoyer etc. Similarly[8] in the waking state there is no difference. Again comparing both the states the author states, "The Place, time, objects, knower etc imagined during a dream are all unreal *(mithyā)*. Similarly the waking world is also unreal"[9]. This clearly reminds us of Gauḍpāda. But at the sametime it puts forth a big question mark about its authorship; as Śaṅkara differs from Gauḍapāda because he admits the difference between the waking and the dreaming state !

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[5] स्वप्नादिवच्चेदं द्रष्टव्यम् । यथा हि स्वप्नमायामरी -
च्युदकगन्धर्वनगरादि प्रत्यया विनैव बाह्येनार्थेन
ग्राह्यग्राहकाकारा भवन्ति, एवं जागरितगोचरा अपि
स्तम्भादिप्रत्यया भवितुमर्हन्तीत्यवगम्यते, प्रत्ययत्वाविशेषात् ।
-Brahma-Sūtra-Śāṅkara-Bhāṣya-II.2-28
- Thibaut George, 'The Vedānta Sūtras' Reprinted Motilal Banarasidass (1962)

[6] न हि विष्णुमित्रो वन्ध्यापुत्रवदवभासत इति ... । - Br. Sū. Śā. Bhā. - II-2.28.

[7] सर्वव्यवहाराणामेव प्राग्ब्रह्मात्मताविज्ञानात्सत्यत्वो -
- पपत्तेः स्वप्नव्यवहारस्येव प्राक्प्रबोधात् । Br. Sū. Śā. Bhā. -II - 1.14 Also see Br. Sū.Śā. Bhā.-III-2-21.

Whatever it may be, but it seems that from the ultimate point of view Śaṅkara rejects everything other than Brahman as unreal, and from the point of view he applies the criterion of the concept of dream to establish unreality *('mithyātva)'*.

We may state that Śaṅkara has put forth the concept of dream every practically and logically at the sametime; which is enough to satisfy any curious mind. It is rather the special characteristic of Śaṅkara that he leads the curious mind to the solution, making him pass through every step gradually !

Maṇḍana Miśra :-

In the chain of the Śaṅkaraites, first comes the name of Maṇḍana Miśra, who has put forth the concept of dream to pin-point the unreality of the world of appearance. Since Maṇḍana Miśra has elucidated that the seen *(dṛśya)* is projected by *Avidyā,* this creation must be considered false. In the third chapter - namely *Niyoga Kāṇḍa* of the *Brahmasiddhi* he has presented the analogy of reflection, syllable *(varṇa)* and dream creation to make it clear that the creation is not real. It is stated, "The scriptural passages that teach the emanation of the world from Brahman as its cause do not aim to teach casuality in the primary sense, which would imply duality, but to teach the identity of all things with their cause, *Brahman.* The effect is no separate real thing from its cause, for in so far as it is an effect, it cannot be either identical with or different from its cause (and so is illogical). It is just a construction *(vikalpa).* In the same way as reflections are not produced from their original, nor words, sentences, paragraphs produced from syllables, since they have no separate identity from them, are neither different nor non different from them and so are just the objects of imagination based on them, so difference is a construction based on

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[8] स्वप्नेऽर्थशून्यं सृजति स्वशक्त्या
भोक्त्रादि विश्वं मन एव सर्वम् ।
तथैव जाग्रत्यपि नो विशेषः
तत्सर्वमेतन्मनसो विजृम्भणम् ॥ - *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*-172
Vivekacūḍāmaṇi- tra, by Sankaranarayana P. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. 1979.

[9] निद्राकल्पितदेशकालविषयज्ञात्रादि सर्वं यथा
मिथ्या, तद्वदिहापि जाग्रति जगत्स्वाज्ञानकार्यत्वतः । Vi - 254(ab)

Brahman.[10] In Śaṅkhapāni's commentary on this part of the *Brahmasiddhi* it is stated that though there is the creation of chariot etc. in the dream, it is not regarded as real. It is the same with the creation of the elements of earth, air etc.[11]

Madhusūdana Saraswatī :-

It is interesting to know that in the *Siddhāntabindu,* Madhusūdana Saraswatī has presented some details about the concept of dream.

It is noteworthy that walking in the foot-steps of Śankara, he has mentioned that creation and dissolution, eventhough are not real like the creation and dissolution taking place in a dream, they have got the empirical existence due to strong residual impression. Hence they are not considered illusory.[12]

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[10] अन्यत्र च 'इन्द्रो मायाभिः इति भेदस्य
मायागम्यत्वश्रुतेः; साक्षाच्च भेदाभावस्य श्रवणात्
''नेह नानास्ति किंचन इति, ... तदविरोधेन वर्ण्यते
तदुपादानमात्रतया भेदविकल्पस्य बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बवत्
वर्णपदवाक्यादिवच्च । यथा हि न बिम्बात् प्रतिबिम्बानामु -
-त्पत्तिर्नानारूपाणाम् , ... तथा न वर्णेभ्यः
पदवाक्यप्रकरणादीनि कानिचिद्वस्तूनि सन्ति, तदुपादान-
-मात्रत्वात्तत्कल्पनायाः वर्णेभ्यः पदानि निष्पद्यन्ते,
पदेभ्यो वाक्यम् इत्युच्यते । अपि च स्वप्नेऽपि
श्रुतिः श्रुयते - ''न तत्र रथा न रथायोगा न
पन्थानो भवन्ति, अथ रथान् रथयोगान् पथः सृजते
इति, तद्वदेषा स्यात्, अन्यपरत्वात्; स्वयमेव वाचार -
म्भणं विकारो नामधेयम् इति विकारासत्यतया न
पारमार्थिकीत्युक्तम् ।

- *Brahma Siddhi* - Niyoga kāṇḍa.
- *Brahma Siddhi* pp. 125-126, Madras Government Press (1937).
- Translation - Karl H. Potter. The Encyclopedia of Indian Philosphies - pp. 406-407 Motilal Banarasidass (1981).

[11] किं च स्वप्नेऽपि सृष्टिश्रुतिरस्ति, न च तावता
तत्र रथादीनां सत्यत्वम् । तद्वदेषापि भूतसृष्टिः भविष्यति, ...

Śaṅkhapāṇi's Commentary on the *Brahmasiddhi* - p. 225. Madras Government Press. (1937)

[12] सर्वं च सृष्टिप्रलयादिकं स्वप्नसृष्टिप्रलयवदपारमार्थिक-
- मपि वासनादार्ढ्याद् व्यवहारक्षममिति न
मादिकत्वेपि तुच्छत्वप्रसङ्गः ।

- *Siddhāntabindu*-Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar (ed) Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- p. 105 (1962)

Now, so far as the concept of dream is concerned, it would not be out of place to mention that dream *(swapna)* is one of the states *(Avasthā)* of sentence : Madhusūdana Saraswatī, while discussing about the dreaming state, has put forth its definition. When the store of *'Karma'* of *Jīva,* that produces physical objects of enjoyment becomes exhausted, the false identification between the gross body and Jīva is temporarily removed by a *vṛtti* of *'tamoguṇa'* known as sleep *(nidrā).* At this time divested of the superintendency of the presiding deities the sense organs cease to operate. *Jīva* then enters into another world as the world[13] of dream *(Svpna Prapañca).* Dream means the state in which objects are cognised by virtue of the *vāsanā* (residual impression) of mind. In a dream the mind is transformed into various shapes and forms and is known through *Avidyā.* It seems that the author of *Siddhantabindu* considers *Mūla Ajñāna* as the root cause of the dreaming state. Further on while discussing about the substratum of the dream, he has put forth two different opinions.

1. According to some, *Jīva* - limited by the mind is the Substratum,[14]
2. Some opine that *Brahman* limited by *Mūla Ajñāna* is the substratum.[15]
3. Others hold that *Brahman*, limited by *Mūla Ajñāna* and reflected in the mind is the substratum of the dreaming state.[16]

Madhusūdana Saraswatī seems to justify all the views[17]. He states, "If *Brahman* is regarded as substratum of dream, then when illusion becomes removed in the waking state, the waking state itself cannot exist. Because the knowledge of Brahman is always followed by total disappearance of the universe *(dvaita)*[18]. Therefore, it must be admitted that *Jīva* is the substratum of dream and in waking state, knowledge of *Jīva* removes the dream illusion -

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[13] एवं जाग्रद्भोगजनककर्मक्षये स्वप्नभोगजनककर्मो -
- दये च सति निद्राख्यया तामस्या वृत्या
स्थूलदेहाभिमाने दूरीकृते सर्वेन्द्रियेषु देवतानुग्रहाभावान्नि -
-र्व्यापारतया लीनेषु विश्वोऽपि लीन इत्युच्यते
तदा च स्वप्नावस्था । तत्रान्तःकरणगतवासना -
निमित्त इन्द्रियवृत्त्यभावकालीनोऽर्थोपलम्भः स्वप्नः ।
- *Siddhānatabindu* (ed) Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar - p. 107 (Translation from) -Sanjukta Gupta. Studies in the Philosophy of Madhusūdana Saraswatī Co. Sanskrit Pustak bhandar, Calcutta. p. 74 - (1966)

[14] मनोऽवच्छिन्नं जीवचैतन्यमित्येके । - *Ibid* - p. 109

[15] मूलाज्ञानावच्छिन्नं ब्रह्मचैतन्यमित्यपरे । - *Ibid* pp. 110

[16] मनोवच्छिन्नं ब्रह्मचैतन्यमेव वाधिष्ठानम् । - *Ibid* p. 117

[17] तस्मान्न पक्षद्वये पि काप्यनुपपत्तिः । - *Ibid* p. 119 also see किं श्रेयः । मतभेदेनोभयमपि ।- ibid p. 110

While discussing the other view that Brahman limited by *Mūla Ajñāna* is the substratum, it is stated that when *Ajñāna* is removed by the knowledge of Brahman, then as the illusion of *'Rajju-sarpa'* is removed by another illusion of *'Rajju-daṇḍa'*. So also the dream illusion may be removed by the knowledge of the[19] waking state, which itself is an illusion ! The dream objects of each *Jīva* vary according to the various *vāsanās* of the minds. Supporting the third view it is stated that as *Avasthā Ajñāna* is numerous, there is no harm in accepting the view.[20]

The above views mentioned by Madhusūdan Saraswatī are found compiled in the *Siddhāntaleśa saṁgraha* with some more details.

Prakāśānanda :-

Prakāśānanda, a stanch upholder of *Kevalādvaita Vedānta* has, in his *Vedāntasiddhānta Muktavali,* strongly condemned even the phenomenal reality of the world of appearance, considering it just an illusion like a dream[21]. Hence we can put him just next to Gauḍapāda, negating everything except the Non-dual Sentiency ![22]

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[18] तथा हि जाग्रद्बोधेन स्वप्नभ्रमनिवृत्त्यभ्युपगमादधि -
ष्ठानज्ञानादेव च भ्रमनिवृत्तेः ब्रह्मचैतन्यस्य चाधिष्ठानत्वे
संसारदशायां तद्भानाभावाज्ज्ञाने वा सर्वद्वैतनिवृत्तेर्न
जाग्रद्बोधात्स्वप्ननिवृत्तिः स्यात् । स हि कर्ता (बृ. ४-३-१०)
इति जीवकर्तृत्वश्रुतेराकाशादिप्रपञ्चवत्सर्वसाधारणत्वापतेश्च
न मूलाज्ञानावच्छिन्नं ब्रह्मचैतन्यमधिष्ठानम् । Si.bi. - pp. 110-111

[19] यदा पुनः ब्रह्मज्ञानादेवाज्ञाननिवृत्त्यभ्युपगमस्तदा
रज्जवां दण्डभ्रमेण सर्पभ्रमतिरोधानवदधिष्ठानज्ञानाभावेऽपि
जाग्रद्भ्रमेण स्वप्नभ्रमतिरोभावोपपत्तेर्ब्रह्मचैतन्यमेव
स्वप्नाध्यासाधिष्ठानमिति पक्षेऽपि न कश्चिद्दोषः । *Ibid* - pp. 116-117

[20] एतस्मिन्नपि पक्षेऽवस्थाऽज्ञानस्यैवावरकात्वाङ्गीकारान्न काप्यनुपपत्तिः । *Ibid* - p. 117

[21] .... तत्तदर्थिनां तत्तत्कारणविशेषोपादानं तु तथैव स्वप्नवदुपपादनीयम् ।
Venis Arther, *The Vedānta Siddhānta Muktāvalī,* Chawkhamba Orientali Varansi (1975) p. 35

[22] ततो ब्रह्मातिरिक्तं कृत्स्नकार्यजातं ज्ञानं
ज्ञेयरूपं तत्सर्वमाविद्यकमेव इति प्रातीतिकमेव
सत्त्वं सर्वस्येति सिद्धम् । *Ibid* - p. 35
- Compare - मायामात्रमिदं द्वैतं अद्वैतं परमार्थतः । G.K. I-17 (cd)

Siddhāntaleśasaṁgraha :-

Appaya Dīkṣita has compiled various views of the Śaṅkaraites which depict the later development of the different concepts, not discussed earlier. In this work, we find the concept of dream discussed with different shades. Like *Siddhāntabindu,* here also the cause and substratum of the dreaming state have been presented, which exhibit different views of the Śaṅkaraites regarding the concept of dream.

DREAM

1.	Resembles the waking state	Does to resemble the waking state
	Upholders	Upholders
	Gauḍapāda, Prakāśānanda, other Dṛṣṭi-Sṛṣṭivādins	Śaṅkara (From Pragmatic Stand point) Prakāśātman, other Sṛṣṭi Dṛṣṭivādins
2.	Cause	Cause
	Mūla Ajñāna (root-ignorance) is the material cause (upādāna)	Sleep is the material cause

Substratum (adhiṣṭhāna)

- ➢ Waking state is the substratum
- ➢ *Vyāvahārika Jīva* is the substratum of *Prātibhāsika Jīva*
- ➢ Root ignorance (*Mūla Ajñāna*) is not the substratum.
- ➢ Sentiency not limited (*anavachhina*) by ego is the substratum. (*Vivaraṇa prameya saṁgraha*)
- ➢ Sentiency not limited by ego and reflected in *Avidyā* is the substratum.
- ➢ Sentiency limited by *Ahaṁkāra.* i.e. Sentiency, reflected in *Ahaṁkāra* is the substratum.

From the above mentioned chart, it can be seen that here are two different opinions, so far as the equality of the dreaming state with the waking state is concerned.

(1) "That darkness of ignorance is called sleep, which is the cause of dreaming and waking" it is said by the Preceptor that both the dreaming and waking worlds are products of one ignorance, that (dream-superimposition) is the product of Primal ignorance and hence is sublatable only by Brahman-Knowledge that has the capacity to remove its (the dream's) own material cause; its merely apparent character is only because of generation by a defect, such as sleep, over and above nescience thus say some.[23]

(2) Others, however, say thus : because of the statement in the Bhāṣya : "These chariots etc. seen in dreams are sublated an waking, "because, there is seen in the *Vivaraṇa* (the passage)". Since it is opposed to bondage in the nature of ignorance, like waking cognition," and because of the experience of the illusoriness of dreams by one who has woken up, waking cognition has the capacity to remove the superimposition of dreams; .." This way, both the states cannot be treated as the same.[24]

There are also different opinions regarding the material cause *(upādāna)* of the dreaming state (1). In the above mentioned passage we have already seen that according to some, *Mūla Ajñāna* (root ignorance) is the material cause *(Upādāna)* of the dreaming sate. (2) On the other hand, others, however (say) thus : not primal ignorance, but a distinct mode of primal ignorance, which is of the form of sleep, and which, when there is the quiescence of the Karma that brings about enjoyment in waking, arises as veiling both the empirical *Jīva,* the spectator of the waking world, who is of the nature of a reflection, as well as the waking world seen by him, is the material cause of the superimposition of the dream world.[25]

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[23] 'सुपुप्त्याख्यं तमोऽज्ञानं यद् बीजं स्वप्नबाधयोः । इति
आचार्याणां स्वप्नजाग्रत्प्रपञ्चयोरेकाज्ञानकार्यत्वोक्तेश्च
मूलाज्ञानकार्यतया स्वोपादाननिवर्तकब्रह्मज्ञानैकबाध्यस्य
अविद्याऽतिरिक्तनिद्रादिदोषजन्यतयैव प्रातिभासिकत्वमिति केचिदाहुः ।

Siddhantaleśasaṁgraha, Tra. by Dr. Estherben A. Solomon L.D. Series 114 L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedbad. II -p. 346. (1990)

Ed. by S.S. Suryanarayana Sastri *Siddhāntaleśasaṁgraha* - Vol. I-p. 287 (1937) University of Madras.

[24] अन्ये तु 'बाध्यन्ते चैते रथादयाः स्वप्नदृष्टाः
प्रबोधे' (ब्र.सू.शां.भा. ३-२-३) इति भाष्योक्तेः;
'अविद्यात्मकबन्धप्रत्यनीकत्वाद् जाग्रद्बोधवद्' इति विवरणदर्शनात् उत्थितस्य स्वप्नमिथ्यात्वानुभवाच्च
जाग्रदबोधः स्वप्नाध्यासनिवर्तक इति ब्रह्मज्ञानेतरज्ञान-
बाध्यतयैव तस्य प्रातिभासिकत्वम् । Ibid - II-p. 347

- Dr. E.A. Solomon (1990) Ibid.
- Translation From S.S. Suryanarayana Sastri (ed) op. cit. pp. 287-288.

Now, so far as the substratum of the dreaming state is concerned, we find different views complied in the *Siddhanta leśasaṁgraha*- (1) Some justify the view that intelligence undefined by individuation is accepted as the substrate of the dream world, not as outside the body, but only as within it.[26] In the *Vivaraṇa prameyasaṁgraha* it is stated that : Just as, in waking, the nescience, that is present in intelligence as defined by this element of the nacre manifested by the psychosis generated by (sense-) contact, is illusorily transformed in the form of silver, similarly, in dream too, the nescience that is present in intelligence manifested in the psychosis of the internal organ within the body when there is the association of defects like sleep, may illusorily transform itself in the form of the universe, when in co-operation with the memory-impressions of diverse objects called up by the unseen potency *(adṛṣṭa)* (of past *karma*)[27]

(2) While differing from the above mentioned view some do not admit undefined intelligence as the substrate; as the origination of a psychosis is not possible whose sphere is undefined intelligence; except as based on verbal testimony, while the psychosis in the form of "I" is seen to rise only in intelligence as defined by individuation etc. Therefore, its substrate is that intelligence which is of itself immediate and[28] is undefined by individuation etc.

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25. अपरे तु जाग्रदभोगप्रदकर्मोपरमे सति जाग्रत्प्रपञ्च -
द्रष्टारं प्रतिविम्बरूपं व्यावहारिकं जीवं तद्दृश्यं
जाग्रत्प्रपञ्चमप्यावृत्य जायमानो निद्रारूपो मूलाज्ञानस्या-
-वस्थाभेदः स्वाप्नप्रपञ्चाध्यासोपादानम्, न मूलाज्ञानम् । *Ibid* P. II p. 348
Translation from S.S. Suryanarayana Sastri - (ed) op. cit. p. 288

26. -अहङ्कारानवच्छिन्नचैतन्यं न देहाद् वहिः
स्वाप्नप्रपञ्चस्याधिष्ठानमुपेयते, किं तु तदन्तरेव । *Ibid* p. 352.
Translation S.S.S. Sastri - p. 290

27. अत एव यथा जागरणे सम्प्रयोगजन्यवृत्त्य-
-भिव्यक्तशुक्तीदमंशावच्छिन्नचैतन्यस्थिताऽविद्या
रूप्याकारेण विवर्तते, तथा स्वप्नेऽपि देहस्यान्तरन्तःकरणवृत्तौ
निद्रादिदोषोपहितायामभिव्यक्तचैतन्यस्थाऽविद्या
अदृष्टोद्बोधितनानाविषयसंस्कारसहिता प्रपञ्चाकारेण
विवर्ततामिति विवरणोपन्यासे भारतीतीर्थवचनमिति । *Ibid* p. 352.
Translation S.S.S. Sastri - p. 291

28. तस्मात् स्वतोऽपरोक्षमहङ्काराद्यनवच्छिन्नचैतन्यं तदधिष्ठानम् । *Ibid* p. 354.
Translation S.S.S. Sastri - p. 291

(3) Yet others justifying the second view admit that it is that intelligence alone which is conditioned by individuation and is of the nature of a reflection therein, is the substrate.[29]

Moreover, whether the experience of the dream-objects takes place by the means of sense-organs or it is just *sākṣirūpa*-this point is also discussed. In a dream eventhough the eyes are not operating, we feel that we see with the eyes. The experience of the dream objects is of the nature merely of the witness, either concomitance with the sense of sight etc. or a psychosis that is concomitant with that[30]. In short, *Māyā* is responsible for that, as nothing is there which *māyā* cannot accomplish[31].

(4) In this context, the view of the upholders of *Dṛṣṭi-Sṛṣṭivāda* has been mentioned.

According to this view, like the dreaming state, the waking state is also of the nature of witness.[32] It is notworthy that the upholders of *Dṛṣṭi-Sṛṣṭivāda* strongly condemn the empirical reality of the world of appearance considering it just like a dream. It would not be out of place to state the commentary of Kṛṣṇānandatīrtha : "Those desirous of *Brahman* knowledge, who see no difference even in the waking condition from the dream, as they have minds thoroughly purified by virtue of the fullest grace of God attained by diverse[33] pursuits of knowledge and action". This clearly indicates that those are very rare who find the world of appearance just like a dream !

All these views as compiled in the *Siddhāntaleśasaṁgraha,* regarding the concept of dream, clearly point out two different currents of thought. That is to say, one view upholds the similarity between the waking and the dreaming state and considers the world of appearance as nothing else but a dream ! On the other hand, the other view, keeping in mind rather a practical outlook and following the path of Śaṅkara consider the world of appearance as unreal *(mithyā)* from the ultimate point of view - as Kevalādvaitavādins ! And, in this respect, they seem to appreciate the concept of dream as the criterion to establish the unreality of the world of appearance after the dawn of knowledge.

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[29] किं तु अहङ्कारोपहितं तत्प्रतिबिम्बरूपचैतन्यमात्रमधिष्ठानमिति । Ibid p. 357
Translation S.S.S. Sastri - p. 293

[30] तस्मात् सर्वथाऽपि स्वप्ने चक्षुरादिव्यापारासम्भ-
- वात् स्वाप्नगजादौ चाक्षुषत्वाद्यनुभवो भ्रम एव । Ibid II p. 365

[31] किमिव हि दुर्घटमपि भ्रमं माया न करोति ... Ibid II p. 366

[32] दृष्टिसृष्टिवादिनस्तु कल्पितस्याज्ञातसत्त्वमनुपपन्न -
-मिति कृत्स्नस्य जाग्रत्प्रपञ्चस्य दृष्टिसमसमयां
सृष्टिमुपेत्य घटादिदृष्टेश्चक्षुः सन्निकर्षानुविधानप्रतीतिं
दृष्टेः पूर्वं घटाद्यभावेनासङ्गच्छमानां स्वप्नवदेव
समर्थ्यमानाः जाग्रद्गजाद्यनुभवोऽपि न चाक्षुष इत्याहुः । Ibid ch-II p. 367

[33] ये त्वधिकारिणो बहुविधज्ञानकर्मानुष्ठानसाधित -
निरतिशयपरमेश्वरप्रसादमहिम्ना नितान्तनिर्मलीकृतान्तः -
करणस्सन्तो जागरेऽपि स्वप्नाद्विशेषं न पश्यन्ति ।
Kṛṣṇānandatīrthás commentary on The Siddhāntaleśa Saṁgraha The Chawkhamba Sanskrit Series Office. (1919), ch-II p. 350

Conclusion :

Summing up, we may state that all the concepts applied by the Kevalādvaitavādins are different channels to move towards the possible solution or remedy to solve the riddle of the world of appearance. The criterion of the concept of dream, which has been applied by the *Kevalādvaitavādins* indeed reveals the remedy that is enough to soothe the perplexed mind struggling to get a possible solution for the inquiry about the world of appearance. Nevertheless, it is wonderful to live in this world of appearance, considering it as a huge dream !

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THE SUPREMACY OF GODDESS LAKṢMĪ IN VIŚIṢṬĀDVAITA

S.K. PANKAJA*

Bhagavad Rāmānujācārya, in his benediction to *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya* has used the attribute Śrīnivāse to the term Brahmaṇi[1]. The Ultimate Reality according to him is Śrī Viśiṣta Nārāyaṇa. Vedānta Deśika reiterates the same when he says Brahman is Śrīmān[2], Nārāyaṇa with Lakṣmī or Śrī as his consort.

Before and after the time of Rāmānuja, there appears to have been some controversy as regards the ontological status of Lakṣmī. It is likely that these differences became more pronounced after his time. For, Vedanta Deśika in his commentary on the *Catuśślokī* of Yamunācārya discusses five different views that existed then, about the status of Lakṣmī[3].

The first view holds that Lakṣmī belongs to the group of individual souls and that like them she too is monadic in nature. Śruti[4] says that *Sat* alone, without a second, existed in the beginning. It is this *'Sat'* otherwise known as Brahman, that is the cause of everything. The term Brahman means that which expands and also causes (the world) to expand.[5] Hence, if the term Brahman includes Lakṣmī, it amounts to saying that she is the cause of

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1. *Maṅgala Śloka* of RB on *Vedānta Sūtra*
अखिलभुवनजन्मस्थेमभङ्गादिलीले विनतविविधभूतव्रातरक्षैकदीक्षे ।
श्रुतिशिरसि विदीप्ते ब्रह्मणि श्रीनिवासे भवतु मम परस्मिन् शेमुषी भक्तिरूपा ॥

2. AS 1-1-2, Sl. 38
ज्ञातं चेन्नोपलक्ष्यं न च यदि नतरां लक्ष्म योगाप्रतीतेः
ज्ञाताज्ञातांशभेदस्त्विह दुरभिलपो लक्षणेनैव वेद्ये ।
ब्रह्मत्वं ब्रह्मशब्दान्वितिरपि विदिते ह्यत्र नो चेन्न शङ्का-
मैवं नानागमोद्यद्विशयशमनतः श्रीमति ब्रह्मतोक्तेः ॥

3. CSB p. 17-19

4. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* VI-2-1 "सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयम्"

5. *Atharva Śiraṣa Upaniṣad* quoted in *Śruta Prakāśika,* p. 18 - RB on *Vedānta Sūtra.*
बृहति बृह्मयति तस्मादुच्यते परं ब्रह्म ।

the Universe, which in turn contradicts the Śruti, which in explicit terms, declares *Sat* as the cause. Some have tried to resolve this contradiction by saying that Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa are not two different *cetanas* but are one only. So the word *Ekam* in the Śruti does not exclude Lakṣmī. They say Hari or Nārāyaṇa is *Naranārīmaya.* In other words, the Supreme Being is both male and female.[6] This is not a very convincing explanation because, Śruti and Smṛtis have clearly described Lakṣmī as the all-prevading ruler[7] of the Universe and as the consort of Viṣṇu[8]. Therefore she has to be a different sentient being.

Kāṭhaka Śruti[9] says that she is all prevading. Together Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa are addressed as *Brahman* in the scriptures.[10] Sarasvati is considered as one of the names of Lakṣmī. The term *Vāk,* which is synonymous with Sarasvatī refers to Lakṣmī. Vāgdevī is described as infinite in *Vāk Sūkta.*[11]

The word *Īśvarī* is derived from the root *Aśū Vyāptau.* Hence she is all prevading. The text which describes Hari as *Naranārīmaya* must be interpreted in the light of the preceding verse which says, 'In males, the masculine qualities of God are found manifested and in females, feminine qualities of Lakṣmī are found'.[12] Thus they are two different *cetanas* and because of their inseparable relationship they are like One Reality (*Eka tattvam iva).*[13] The word *iva* is significant here. Lakṣmī is an integral part of Nārāyaṇa. She is an attribute *(viśeṣaṇa)* and He is the substrate *(viśeṣya).* The relation between them is called *apṛthaksiddhi.*[14] This *viśeṣaṇa viśiṣṭa tattva* is One Reality that is referred to by the terms *Sat* and Brahman.

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6. *Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā* quoted in SSB p. 14 अथ किं बहुनोक्तेन नरनारीमयो हरिः ।
7. *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 2 ''ईश्वरीं सर्वभूतानाम्''
8. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* IV-4-12 ''अस्येशाना जगतो विष्णुपत्नी''
9. *Taittirīya Yajur Brāhmaṇa* II-20. ''राडसि बृहती श्रीरसि''
10. *Ṛk Saṁhitā* X-13-1 ''युजे वां ब्रह्म पूर्व्यं नमोभिर्विश्लोक एतु पथ्येव सूरेः''
11. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* II-8-62 ''अनन्तामन्तादधिनिर्मितां महीम्''
12. *Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā* quoted in CSB p. 8 and SSB p. 14
    यो यो जगति पुम्भावः सविष्णुरिति निश्चयः ।
    यो यस्तु नारीभावस्स्यात् तत्र लक्ष्मीर्व्यवस्थिता ॥
13. Ah. S IV-77-78
    नारायणः परं ब्रह्म शक्तिर्नारायणी च स ।
    व्यापकावतिसंश्लेषात् एकतत्त्वमिव स्थितौ ॥
    Ibid III-26
    भवद्भावस्वरूपेण तत्त्वमेकमिवोदितौ ॥
14. LT II-11 अपृथग्भूतशक्तित्वात् ब्रह्माद्वैतं तदुच्यते ।

The Śruti which refers to the Ultimate Reality as *Ekam* does not exclude the qualities like *satyatva, jñānatva, anantatva, ānandatva* and *amalatva* which describe its supremacy. Like these attributes that define the essential nature of Brahman, Lakṣmī is also a *Svarūpa Nirūpaka Dharma* of His. While *satyatva* etc. exclude the other categories of *cetana* and *acetana,* Lakṣmī as an *apṛthak siddha viśeṣaṇa* excludes Brahmā and Rudra whose consrot she is not. Yāmunācārya explains this with the analogy of a sovereign king.[15] 'The king of Chola was without a second means only that he was an unrivalled monarch. It does not mean that he had no attendants, sons or queens. Another Śruti[16] says, 'That One breathed along with *Svadhā.' Svadhā* here refers to Lakṣmī. So the reference to Brahman as *Ekam* means that it is One with the attributes *(Viśiṣṭa Veṣeṇa Ekam).*

The second view in respect of Lakṣmī is that she, although monadic in nature, by virtue of her *aghaṭita ghaṭanā sāmarthya,* can pervade everything. On the face of it this view is untenable because it amounts to saying that mutually opposite qualities can exist in the same entity. If this view is accepted, it will be difficult to refute the argument of *Bhedābheda* advocated by Bhāskara and Yādava on the one hand and the Jain view which attributes contraction and expansion to a soul on the other. The latter holds that the soul is capable of taking a form similar to that of a body in which it resides. Thus in the body of an elephant it is as big and in that of an ant is as small. Brahmasūtrakāra refutes this view in sutra 2-2-33.[17] If Lakṣmī can assume *vibhutvam* and *aṇutvam* alternately, where is any harm in accepting the same for the individual souls as held by the Jain school of thought ? Moreover if the soul is attributed with contraction and expansion, it cannot be considered as eternal. An entity that undergoes change in its essential form *(Svarūpa)* cannot be eternal *(Nitya).* All the imperfections associated with change will come to it.

The third view holds that Lakṣmī is sentient and hence different from the insentient beings. She is *vibhu* and hence different from the individual souls which are *aṇu.* She is dependent and hence different from the Supreme Lord who is independent. This view again is not without contradiction because, if it is accepted, we cannot make a clear distinction between *Īśvarakoti* and *Jīvakoti* defining the former as *vibhu* and the latter as *aṇu.* If Laksmi is included in Jīvakoti, it cannot be said that the *jivas* are monadic with the exception of one i.e., Lakṣmī who is *vibhu.* Some try to explain this a way by saying that just as the released souls are said to be *vibhu* by virtue of their attributive knowledge *(Dharma Bhūta Jñāna),*[18] Lakṣmī too is *vibhu* through her *Dharma Bhūta Jñāna.* It is to be noted here that in respect of the released souls *(muktas)* and the eternally free souls *(nityas)* whose attributive knowledge is said to be *vibhu,* there is no *pramāṇa* that contradicts their monadic nature. But as regards Lakṣmī there are texts that describe her as all pervasive.[19] There is no reason for not taking these texts that declare her as *vibhu.*[20] *Kāla tattva* and the attributive knowledge of the *Nityas, Muktas and Īśvara* are all considered *vibhu.* Similarly, Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa can both be *vibhu.*

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[15] ST p. 101
यथा चोळनृपस्सम्राऽद्वितीयोऽत्र भूतले ॥
इति तत्तुल्यनृपतिनिवारणपरं वचः ।
न तु तद्भृत्यतत्पुत्रकलत्रादिनिषेधकम्

[16] *Ṛgveda* X. 129-2. "आनीद्वातं स्वधया तदेकम्"

[17] *Vedānta Sūtra* 2-2-33 RB p. 310. "न च पर्यायादप्यविरोधः विकारादिभ्यः"

There is a contention that instead of *'Aṇutve sati paratantracetanatvam'* let the individual soul be defined only as a dependent sentient entity *(Paratantra cetana).* The definition *aṇucetanatvam* is applicable to those other than Lakṣmī. One more explanation given here is, respect of the individual soul, the term *aṇu* refers to its size, where as, in respect of Lakṣmī, it should be taken to restrict only her independence as she is dependent on God. *Rāmānuja Bhāṣya*[21] under the *sūtra* 1-1-2 explains the term *anantam* as one that is not restricted by space, time and matter. The Ultimate Reality that is possessed of attributes is One that is infinite both in its *svarūpa* and *guṇa.* Lakṣmī is also described as *Anantā.* So it is to be taken in the sense that She is infinite in respect of *space, time* and *matter.*[22] The term *Paratantrā* with reference to Lakṣmī is not to be taken in the sense of *Bhagavatsankalpādhīnā.* Lakṣmī is subservient to God not by her very nature but of her own free will. There is no *vaidika* or *laukika pramāṇa* in support of the view that a wife is subservient to her husband. *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*[23] lays down that the husband and wife have equal rights over their possessions. Pāṇini explains the term *patnī*[24] as the companion of a *Yajamāna* in a sacrfice. Without her he has no right to perform the *yajña.* All the sacrificial rituals are to be performed jointly by the *Yajamāna* and his wife.[25] In fact, the very sense of the root *yaj* is to offer an oblation invoking a deity *(Devatoddeśena Dravya Tyāgaḥ)* and the right over that offering lies with the husband and wife equally. In the enjoinments such as *'Svargakāmo yajeta'*, the masculine gender and singular number are not meant to stress the sole authority of the *Yajamāna.* On the other hand, they only indicate *puruṣa prādhānya* in the sacrificial ritual. *Yajamāna* does not have the right to perform a sacrifice without his wife. She is *patyādhīnā* by her own will and not because of his supremacy over her. In the same way Lakṣmī is *Bhagavadādhīnā* by her own will and not due to the Lord's will.

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[18] *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 5-9
वालाग्रशतभागस्य शतधा कल्पितस्य च ।
भागो जीवस्य विज्ञेयः स चानन्त्याय कल्पते ॥

[19] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1-8-17
नित्यैवैषा जगन्माता विष्णोः श्रीरनपायिनी ।
यथा सर्वगतो विष्णुस्तथैवेयं द्विजोत्तम ॥

Ibid 1-9-121
त्वयैतद्विष्णुना चाम्ब जगद्व्याप्तं चराचरम् ।

[20] CSB p. 18
विभुद्वयासम्भव इह बाधक इति चेन्न, कालतत्त्वे नित्यमुक्तेश्वराणां धर्मभूतज्ञाने च विभुत्वस्वीकारात् ।

[21] *Janmādyadhikaraṇabhāṣyam* under *Vedānta Sūtra* I-1-2 RB p. 115-116.
अनन्तपदं देशकालवस्तुपरिच्छेदरहितस्वरूपमाह । सगुणत्वात् स्वरूपस्य स्वरूपेण गुणैश्चानन्त्यम् ।
(Also refer CSB p. 18)

[22] LT III-2
देशात् कालात् तथा रूपात् परिच्छेदो न मे स्मृतः ।

The fourth view is that like her Lord she too is above the twofold *Vibhūti.* She enjoys, like her Lord, *Vibhūti dvaya śeṣitvam* and hence she belongs to *Īśvarakoti.* But overlordship *(Sarvaśeṣitvam)* is an attribute of the Lord and not Lakṣmī. She is above everything except Him. Therefore *Sarvaśeṣitvam* and *Nissamābhyadhikatvam* - Lordship over everything and not having an equal or a superior, are two attributes which are exclusively His. This view is countered in the following manner. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* says that nothing is above the two,[26] Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa, who are the *Śeṣi Dampatī.*[27] Lakṣmī is described as the ruler of the Universe.[28] Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa are the divine couple *(Divya Mithuna)* who share equally the right over the two realms, namely *Līlā Vibhūti* and *Nitya Vibhūti.* Rāmamiśra, one of the ancient preceptors has said *Śeṣitvam* or supremacy resides in both Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa.[29]

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[23] *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra* 2-6-14-16 जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते ।

[24] *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 4-1-33 पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे

[25] *Jaimini Sūtra* 6-1-17 to 21 कर्मसु दम्पत्योः सहाधिकाराधिकरणम्

[26] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1-8-35
देवतिर्यङ्मनुष्यादौ पुन्नामा भगवान् हरिः ।
स्त्रीनाम्नी लक्ष्मीर्मैत्रेय नानयोर्विद्यते परम् ॥

[27] Quoted in CSB p. 8. Also quoted in SSB p. 60
लक्ष्म्याः समस्तचिदचित्प्रपञ्चो व्याप्यस्तदीशस्य तु सापि सर्वम् ।
तथापि साधारणमीशितृत्वं श्रीश्रीशयोर्द्वौ च सदैकशेषी ॥

[28] *Yajurveda Kāṭhaka Śraddhā Sūkta* - 3.3.9.12 ईशाना देवी भुवनस्याधिपत्नी

[29] Quoted in SSB p. 60 उभयाधिष्ठानं चैकं शेषित्वम् - Ramamiśra also known as Somāśiyāndan in *Ṣadartha Sankṣepa* (not extant).

The advocates of the fifth view says that Lakṣmī also has *Sarveśvaratva* - Lordship of everything. Among them again, there is a divided opinion as regards whether Lakṣmī is also conveyed by the term Brahman or not. Those who say that Lakṣmī is not meant by the term Brahman base their view on the fact that there is no *pramāṇa* in support of Lakṣmī being called Brahman. Besides if she is also called Brahman, then she has to be the creator of the Universe. In other words, all cosmic functions have to be attributed to her. Cosmic functions include creation, sustenance and destruction. Creation again is not merely the creation of this physical world, it is also inclusive of hell for the sinners. The objection raised here is, as Lakṣmī knows not to punish *(ajñāta nigrahā)* how can she create hell and bear to see the souls suffer ? Thus it is not possible to attribute *Brahmatva* to her. Those who hold that she is included in the term Brahman counter the argument of the opponent in the following way. Authoritative scriptural texts[30] say 'You two are the Brahman .....' and that Brahman comprises of *Bhavat* and *Bhāva* wherein *Bhavat* refers to Nārāyaṇa and *Bhāva* to *Lakṣmī.* The Primeval Being Brahman is called Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa.[31] *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* says that the two are regarded as One Reality, having the relationship of substrate and attribute *(Bhedya Bhedaka Bhāva)* and also that they are individually called the Cause of the Universe in the scriptures.[32] Lakṣmī is the power *(śakti)* and Nārāyaṇa is endowed with this power. Without her who is the *śakti.* He cannot be the cause and without Him she cannot exist.[33] Depending on the importance given to either of them in a particular context, they are alternately called the cause of the Universe.[34]

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[30] *Ṛk Saṁhitā* 10-13-1. Refer Foot Note 10.

[31] LT 2-15

भवद्भावात्मकं ब्रह्म ततस्तच्छाश्वतं पदम् ।
भवान्नारायणो देवः भावो लक्ष्मीरहंपरा ॥

Ibid 2-16

लक्ष्मीनारायणाख्यमतो ब्रह्म सनातनम् ।

[32] Ah. S 6-2

ताविमावेकधैवोक्तौ भेद्यभेदकभावतः ।
पृथक्त्वेन च शास्त्रेषु जगद्धेतुतयोदितौ ॥

[33] Ah. S 6-3

नैव शक्त्या विना कश्चिच्छक्तिमानस्ति कारणम् ।
न च शक्तिमता शक्तिर्विना काप्यवतिष्ठते ॥

[34] Ah. S. 6-4

तत्तद्गौरवमाश्रित्य तन्त्रवेदान्तपारगैः ।
जगद्धेतुतया देवावेकैकाविव दर्शितौ ॥

Thus, it is established that Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa, the Supreme Reality is the cause of the Universe. As for the objection how Lakṣmī, who is mercy incarnate, can mete out punishment to sinners and create hell etc., the Pūrvācāryas have said that by an arrangement between themselves, the two have divided the responsibilities where in He performs the *Nigraha Kārya* and She has with her, compassion, forgiveness etc.[35] It does not, however, mean that She is incapable of punishing the sinners nor that He is not endowed with mercy *(Kārunyam).* The epithet *Ajñāta Nigrahā* only means that she does not like to punish an offender.

Vedānta Deśika concludes these arguments with the statement that only one of the views elucidated above is authentic.[36] That it is the fifth view is ascertained from elaborate discussion of this argument in *Śri Tattva Siddhāñjanam* and other works.[37] It says that Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa are One Reality and that is the Supreme Being. They are the End to be realised *(Prāpya).* They are the Cause of the world *(Jagatkāraṇa).* Both are all pervasive in nature and together they indulge in the cosmic functions of creation, sustenance, destruction and releasing of the bond souls.

Lakṣmī is accorded a status on par with Nārāyaṇa. She enjoys equal powers with Him, although, of her own accord, she is subservient to Him. They are the *Śeṣi Dampatī* who have, between them, absolute conformity of ideas *(aikarasya bhāva).* Śrīvatsāṅkamiśra, in his *Śrī Stava* says that Nārāyaṇa together with Lakṣmī enjoys this *jagadvyāpāra* as a sport.[38]

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[35] *Śrīguṇaratnakośa* 34
युक्त्यादौ तुल्येप्यपरवशताशत्रुशमन-
स्थिरत्वादीत् कृत्वा भगवति गुणान् पुंस्त्वसुलभान् ।
त्वयि स्त्रीत्वैकान्तान् म्रदिमपतिपारार्थ्यकरुणा-
क्षमादीन् वा भोक्तुं भवति युवयोरात्मनि भिदा ॥

[36] CSB *Kārikā*-21
पञ्चस्वेतेषु पक्षेषु कश्चिदेकः प्रमाणवान् ।

[37] CSB p. 19. Footnote
पञ्चम एव पक्षः आचार्यसम्मत इति आचार्यबहुग्रन्थपरिशीलनपूर्वकं श्रीतत्त्वसिद्धाञ्जनलक्ष्म्युपायत्वनिर्णयादिषु प्रतिपादितं तत्रैवानुसन्धेयम् ।

[38] Śrī Stava Śloka-1
स्वस्ति श्रीर्दिशतादशेषजगतां सर्गोपसर्गस्थितीः
स्वर्गं दुर्गतिमापवर्गिकपदं सर्वं च कुर्वन् हरिः ।
यस्या वीक्ष्य मुखं तदिङ्गितपराधीनो विधत्तेऽखिलं
क्रीडेयं खलु नान्यदास्य रसदा स्यादैकरस्यात्तया ॥

The objection that, if there are two rulers, there will be lack of coordination between them resulting in the evil called *Dvairājya doṣa*, is answered as follows. In this case, the two are having *aikarasya*. Hence between them there can be no disagreement. Both Goddess Lakṣmī and Lord Nārāyaṇa are omnipresent and they constiture one Ultimate Reality as a *Viśeṣaṇa Viśiṣta Tattva.*

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"ALAKṢMĪḤ" (THE GODDESS OF MISFORTUNE) AS NARRATED IN THE CHURNING-MYTH

GOPINATH PANDA*

In the tradition of *Padma* (PP) and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*(VP) Lakṣmī is the central point of the narrative. In the concluding portion of the churning-myth of VP it is said - "Alakṣmī" the goddess of misfortune, the fountain of quarrel and strife shall never enter into those houses in which the hymns to Śrī are read aloud[1]. In another development of the churning-myth this Alakṣmī casually referred to in VP becomes the central figure of narrative.

Brahmakhaṇḍa (BK) and Uttarakhaṇḍa (UK) (Ch. 259-261) of PP we find two versions of the churning-myth. Of these two versions, which are almost identical in contents, the UK. version is longer and more detailed with a change of the myth in the concluding portion.

Both these texts (BK. 8, 21 ; UK. 259, 43) of PP speak of Śrī deserting the three worlds because of the curse of Durvāsas to Indra; and naturally the central theme of the myth is to get back Śrī, for which on the advise of Viṣṇu the gods take recourse to churn the ocean. Besides the goddess Śrī (Lakṣmī), there appears another goddess Alakṣmī, the personification of misfortune. Both these texts of PP have definitely borrowed this concept of Alakṣmī from the version of VP.

The birth of Lakṣmī and Indra's long hymn of praise in honour of Lakṣmī occurring in the concluding portion of the VP., speak of the *Śravaṇa-phala*[2]. He who listens to the account of the birth of Lakṣmī as narrated in VP. or who reads it aloud, for three generations goddess Śri does not desert his home. In those homes where the hymn of praise in honour of Lakṣmī is read aloud there never remains Alakṣmī, the abode of quarrel and strife. The hymn of praise chanted by Indra in honour of Lakṣmī (VP. 9. 117-133) is the means for

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1. पठ्यते येषु चैवैष गृहेषु श्रीस्तवो मुने ।
अलक्ष्मीः कलहाधारा न तेष्वास्ते कदाचन ॥ VP, (Calcutta Edition), 1.9.145.

2. 'यश्चैतच्छृणुयाज्जन्म लक्ष्म्या यश्च पठेन्नरः ।
श्रियो न विच्युतिस्तस्य गृहे यावत् कुलत्रयम् ॥' *Op. Cit.,* 1.9.144.

attaining all sorts of affluence. Alakṣmī never comes to stay with those persons who read it aloud everyday. This reference to Alakṣmī is utilised by the text of PP, (BK. and UK.) where for the first time Alakṣmī takes her birth from the churning of the ocean. In both the versions of these two texts Durvāsas imprecates a curse on Indra, Lakṣmī deserts the heaven, gods approach Brahmā and later on Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu advises to churn the milk-ocean to get back Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu helps in the churning by assuming the form of the tortoise.

The next entity to come out is Alakṣmī. According to BK.[3] She has a black face and red eyes; her hairs are rough and tawny in colour and she has a descrepit body; but UK.[4] only speaks of her as covered with a red cloth and decorated with a wreath of red flowers.

The celestials direct her to take up her residence in the houses where there is constant quarrel and strife, where the residents utter harsh words and speak lies.[5] In course of recounting the unholy places and persons dear to Alakṣmī there is an attempt by the vaiṣṇavite redactors to vilify Śiva. This anti-saivite tendency is noticed in both these texts (BK. and UK of PP) Alakṣmī is to reside in those places where one meets with skull (Kapāla), hair (Keśa), ashes (bhasman) and bones (asthi).[6] It is a custom with the saivites that they have long matted hair, and it is a favourite ascetic practice that they cover their body with ashes. Besides Śiva himself puts on a garland of skulls.

In the concluding portion of the narrative there is a difference between the versions of BK. and UK of PP. In BK. (X. 13) of PP Viṣṇu gives away Alakṣmī in marriage to Uddālaka. As per the custom, the eldest one is given in marriage first and Alakṣmī gets married, Viṣṇu accepts Lakṣmī as his consort (PP. BK. X 14). Then the myth takes its usual course like Viṣṇu's assumption of the female form, the fight between the gods and demons etc. On the otherhand the traditional conclusion of the myth is missing in UK. In this text all the gods with folded hands prayer lord Viṣṇu to accept Lakṣmī as his consort. Without waiting for any response from Viṣṇu under the leadership of Brahmā they make lord Viṣṇu and goddess Lakṣmī seated on a pedestal (*pīṭha*) studded with different jewels and shining bright like morning sun (*Nānāratnamaye divye pīṭhe bālārka-sannibhe niveśya* .... UK. 260. 65-66).

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[3] ततोऽलक्ष्मीः समुत्पन्ना कालास्या रक्तलोचना ।
रूक्षपिङ्गलकेशा च जरन्ती बिभ्रती तनुम् ॥ ६ ॥
सा च ज्येष्ठाऽब्रवीद् देवान् किं कर्तव्यं मयेति वै ।
देवास्तथाब्रुवंस्तां च देवीं दुःखस्य भाजनम् ॥ २० ॥ PP, BK. (Calcutta Edition) 1958, 9.

[4] ज्येष्ठा देवी समुत्पन्ना रक्तस्रग्वाससावृता ॥ (23b) *Op. Cit.*, UK, PP. 260.

[5] The BK of PP in ten verses (ch. 9.11-20) and the UK in nine verses (ch. 260. 25-33) give a list of the places and persons fit for the residence of Alakṣmī.

[6] कपालकेश-भस्मास्थितुषाङ्गाराणि यत्र तु ।
यस्य वेश्मकपालास्थिभस्मकेशादिचिह्नितम् ॥ I. 13.

In BK. and UK. of the PP., Alakṣmī is one of the products of the churning and through this Alakṣmī many anti-saivite ideas have been propagated. In the *Liñga Purāṇa* (LP) Alakṣmī is the central point of narrative; and this text answers to the Vaiṣṇavite propaganda of BK. and UK. of PP. and it ignores the superiority of the Vaiṣṇavas by putting Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra on a common platform.

As per the version of LP with the origin of nectar immediately after poison, there originates Alakṣmī called Jyeṣṭhā, the elder, as Śri, wife of Viṣṇu originates afterwards. According to BK. of PP. Alakṣmī marries Uddālaka but here the name of her husband is Duḥsaha. Accompanied by Alakṣmī the sage Duḥsaha wanders all round the world. The text says that Alakṣmī does not remain in a place where there is a loud chanting of the names of Viṣṇu and Śiva, where there is loud recitation of Vedic mantras or where Brahmins reside, where the sacrifices are performed and where there are people with their limbs smeared with the ashes (*Bhasmāṅginaḥ* II. 6. 10) that is, the Saivites. Then Duḥsaha accidentally meets Mārkaṇḍeya and tells all about his wife. Markaṇḍeya tells him as to the places dear to Alakṣmī and the places despicable to her. Here we can notice vaiṣṇavism and saivism are apparently put on an equal footing. By no means Alakṣmī should enter those places where the devotees of Viṣṇu (*Nārāyaṇaparāḥ* II. 6. 17) and the devotees of Śiva with their limbs dusted with ashes reside (*Bhasmoddhūlita - Vigrahāḥ,* II. 6. 18). By no means Alakṣmī should enter the places where there is repetition of the names of Viṣṇu like Nārāyaṇa, Hṛṣīkeśa etc. or the names of Śiva such as Rudra, Śaṁkara, Mahādeva etc. (II. 6. 19-21). By referring here to both Viṣṇu and Śiva, this Saivite text appears to be quite tolerant of the cult of Viṣṇuism. The text even goes to the extent of indirectly recommending the importance of Viṣṇu, when Mārkaṇḍeya[7] advises Duḥsaha - "O dear one, accompanied by your wife enter that place where Rudra, the lord of gods, Mahādeva, the lord of three worlds is despised and where there is no devotion to Vāsudeva. Without the least tinge of fear enter those houses where people are devoid of the names of Viṣṇu, where they associate with the wicked. Accompanied by your wife you shall enter the houses of those Brahmins who are deluded and wicked and who do not repeat the mantra - "Obeisance to Kṛṣṇa, to Śarva, to Śiva, to Parameṣṭhin". On the contrary the reverse is true with BK.9.11-20.

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[7] सभार्यस्त्वं गृहं तस्य विशेथा भयवर्जितः ।
देवदेवो महादेवो रुद्रस्त्रिभुवनेश्वरः ॥ ३२ ॥

विनिन्द्यः यत्र भगवान् विशस्व भयवर्जितः ।
वासुदेवरतिर्नास्ति यत्र नास्ति सदाशिवः ॥ ३३ ॥

विष्णोर्नाम-विहीना ये संगताश्च दुरात्मभिः ।
नमः कृष्णाय शर्वाय शिवाय परमेष्ठिने ॥ ३६ ॥ LP, (Edi. by Mor Mansukharāya, Calcutta) 1960, II. 6.

With regard to the Śaiva doctrine the text does not make any compromise. In very clear terms the text says that accompanied by his wife Alakṣmī Duḥsaha should enter the abode of the persons who do not believe in the superiority of Śiva and who do not say that Brahmā Viṣṇu and Indra are all born by the grace of Rudra.[8]

But on the whole this text shows a tolerant attitude towards Viṣṇuism. In the concluding portion of the myth Viṣṇu says that his devotees who censure lord Śiva and worship him alone are stupid and unfortunate. It is only because of the grace of lord Śiva that Brahmā and he himself exist. Alakṣmī should reside with those persons who censure Rudra and Ambā, the daughter of Himavat (L. II. 6.85-87).

Though Saivism has shown unique tolerance towards the Vaiṣṇava cult yet as a very strong opponent of Vaiṣṇavism it puts its god in the crowning position making him the supermost among all the gods.

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[8] ब्रह्मा च भगवान् विष्णुः शक्रः सर्वसुरेश्वरः ।
रुद्रप्रसादजाश्चेति न वदन्ति दुरात्मकाः ॥ *Op. Cit.*, 6.59.

THE CONCEPT OF ATIŚAYOKTI (PRE-DHVANI PERIOD)

C. SHIVAKUMARA SWAMY*

Atiśayokti is one of the major *alaṅkāras* which has developed from the time of Bhāmaha down to the time of Jagannātha and writers coming after him. It is quite interesting to note that some instances of *Atiśayokti* are found in Vedas and Smṛtis. Vedic *mantras* "*Dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāya*...... etc.,"[1] "*Catvāri śṛṅgā trayo asya pādā* .... etc."[2] and a smṛti statement "*Yā niśā sarvabhūtānāṁ*....... etc."[3] are the instances respectively. This is only to show that such a mode of expression was known to Veda and Smṛtis, although it was not given the name *Atiśayokti.* It is however necessary to note that Bharata gives the name *Atiśaya* to one of the 36 *lakṣaṇas* defined by him.[4] As clear from the reference made to Bhaṭṭendurāja by Abhinavagupta, it is possible to note that Bhaṭṭendurāja held the view that the development of *alaṅkāras* in number was through the combination of *alaṅkāras* with *lakṣaṇas.* In this connection he is said to have stated that *Atiśayokti* as an *alaṅkāra* is got by combining the figure *Upamā* with the *lakṣaṇa* called *Atiśaya.*[5] Although such a view came to be accepted after Abhinavagupta, it is not possible to find any indications to that effect in Bharata's treatment of the *alaṅkāras* and the *lakṣaṇas.*

Bhāmaha is the first writer to have systematically dealt with the topics of *Alaṅkāraśāstra.* He lays emphasis on *alaṅkāras* as the factors contributing charm to poetry.[6]

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[1] *Ṛgveda,* I-164-20.

[2] *Ibid.* IV-58-3.

[3] *Bhagavadgītā,* II.69.

[4] *Nāṭyaśāstra,* XVI. 1, Parimal Publications, Delhi.

[5] *Upādhyāyamataṁ tu-lakṣaṇabalādalaṅkārāṇāṁ vaicitryamāgacchati tathā hi - guṅānuvādanāmnā lakṣaṇena yogāt praśaṁśopamā, atiśayanāmātiśayoktiḥ......... evamanyadutprekṣyam.*

- *Abhinavabhāratī* on NS, XVI. 40 Vol. 2, p. 233.

[6] *Rūpakādiralaṅkārastasyānyairbahudhoditaḥ.*
na-kāntamapi nirbhūṣaṁ vibhāti vanitāmukham.

- *Kāvyālaṅkāra,* I. 13.

The charm of poetry according to him is due to the extraordinariness that is imparted to the expression and thought constituting poetry.[7] This element of extraordinariness is called *Atiśaya* identified with *Vakrokti.* With this broad idea in view, Bhāmaha defines *Atiśayokti* as -

> *"Nimittato vaco yattu lokātikrāntagōcaram.*
> *Manyante'tiśayoktiṁ tāmalaṅkāratayā yathā."*[8]

"Where something transcending ordinary experience is described with reason is regarded as the figure *atiśayokti*". He quotes the verses -

"*Svapuṣpacchavihāriṇyā candrabhāsā tirohitāḥ......* etc.," and "*Apāṁ yadi tvakśithilacyutā syātphaṇināmiva......* etc."[9] as the examples.

Thus, *Atiśayokti* consists in bringing out some extraordinary superior quality of objects. Here the deviation from the ordinary is taken to its extreme point, beyond which extraordinariness perhaps may not go. That is the reason why *Atiśayokti,* the highest point of extraordinariness is considered in its entirety as *Vakrokti.* Keeping all this in mind Bhāmaha says -

> *"Saiṣā sarvaiva vakroktiranayārtho vibhāvyate.*
> *Yatno' syāṁ kavinā kāryaḥ ko'laṅkāro'nayā vinā."*[10]

This verse is very important to understand the *alaṅkāra* concept of Bhāmaha. Bhāmaha belongs to the *alaṅkāra* school. His concept of *alaṅkāra* is very broad. The figure *Atiśayokti* pervades almost every other figure and beautifies them. Thus, this figure is said to be the basis of all *alaṅkāras* and that in a manner the other *alaṅkāras* are merely modifications of this. The theory propounded by Bhāmaha that there is no *alaṅkāra* without the element of *Atiśaya* or *Vakratā.* He rejects the *alaṅkāras* like *Hetu, Sūkṣma* and *Leśa* on the ground that they do not involve the element of *Vakrokti.*[11] This theory of *Vakrokti* has been developed into an elaborate system by Kuntaka in his *Vakroktijīvita.*

Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa* has treated *Atiśayokti* as an *alaṅkāra* but did not identify it with the concept of *Vakrokti.* But he cannot ignore the fact that it is the highest form of *Vakrokti,* which he has accepted as the basis of all *alaṅkāras* except *Svabhāvokti.* This is clear from his statement pertaining to the charm of *Śleṣa* in other *alaṅkāras.*[12] *Śleṣaḥ sarvāsu puṣṇāti*....... With this background it is proposed to deal with *Atiśayokti* according to Daṇḍin. He defines *Atiśayokti* as -

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[7] *Śabdābhidheyālaṅkārabhedādiṣṭaṁ dvayaṁ tu naḥ-Ibid.I. 15.*

[8] *Ibid.* II. 81.

[9] *Ibid.* II. 82-83.

[10] *Ibid.* II. 85.

[11] *Hetuśca sūkṣmo leśo'tha nālaṅkāratayā mataḥ.*
Samudāyābhidhānasya vakroktyanabhidhānataḥ - *Ibid.* II. 86

> "*Vivakṣā yā viśeṣasya lokasīmātivartinī.*
> *Asāvatiśayoktiḥ syādalaṅkārottamā yathā.*"[13]

The *Atiśayokti* is the expression of something special transgressing the ordinary limit of worldly usage. Daṇḍin stamps *Atiśayokti* as the best of figures. Since he regards *Vakrokti* as the basis of all *alaṅkāras* except *Svabhāvokti.* Thus, he comes round to the opinion of Bhāmaha.[14]

Bhāmaha does not divide *Atiśayokti* formally. He only notices some general cases of its occurrence. But Daṇḍin has explained some forms involving *Saṁśaya, Nirṇaya* and *Ādhikya*[15] in the instances "*Stanayorjaghanasyāpi.... madhye....* etc."[16] "*Nirṇetuṁ śakyamastīti......* etc."[17] and "*Aho viśālaṁ bhūpāla......* etc."[18] respectively. In the first instance the doubt regarding the existence of the waist is beyond the ordinary limit of worldly understanding. In the second case, the *nirṇaya* regarding the existence of waist by virtue of the fact that the hips and breasts remain where they are. This is an inference which is beyond the normal experience of the world. This is the same as the *Anumiti alaṅkāra* of later writers. In the last case it is described that the expanse of the three worlds is extremely wide. It is beyond the limit of experience to consider the expanse of the fame as being enveloped by the the expanse of the three worlds. This is the point of charm which constitutes *Atiśaya.* This is recognised as an independent *alaṅkāra* called *Adhika* with some modifications by the later *Ālaṅkārikas* such as Mammaṭa and others.

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[12] *Śleṣhaḥ sarvāsu puṣṇāti prāyo vakroktiṣu śriyam.*
Bhinnam dvidhā svabhāvoktirvakroktiśceti vāṅmayam.
- *Kāvyādarśa,* II. 363

[13] *Ibid.* II. 214.

[14] *Alaṅkārāntarāṇāmapyekamāhuḥ parāyaṇam.*
Vāgīśamahitāmuktimimāmatiśayāhvayam - *Ibid.* II. 220.

[15] *Saṁśayātiśayādīnāṁ Vyaktyai kiñcinnidarśyate*- *Ibid.* II. 216.

[16] *Ibid.* II. 217.

[17] *Ibid.* II. 218.

[18] *Ibid.* II. 219.

Vāmana is the first *Ālaṅkārika* who has bifurcated the concept of *Vakrokti* from *Atiśaya* and reduced *Vakrokti* to the status of an *arthālaṅkāra* based on resemblance. He defines *Vakrokti* as "*Sādṛśyāllakṣaṇā vakroktiḥ.*"[19] Vāmana accepts only *'Sādṛśya'* as the basis which imparts special charm to all the poetic figures. According to him, the poetic figure *Atiśayokti* is within the scope of *aupamya* or similarity. With this broad concept in view, Vāmana defines *Atiśayokti* as - "*Saṁbhāvyadharama - tadutkarṣakalpanātiśayoktiḥ,*"[20] i.e., *Atiśayokti* is the imagination of the excellence of the most probable property of an object. He quotes the verses - "*Ubhau yadi vyomni pṛthakpravāhāvākāśagaṅgāpayasaḥ patetām......* etc."[21] and "*Malayajarasaviliptatanavo......* etc."[22] as the examples.

Udbhaṭa, one of the earliest followers of Bhāmaha no where mentions Bhāmaha's concept of *Vakrokti.* But as regards *Atiśayokti,* Udbhaṭa has improved a great deal upon Bhāmaha. He has taken the definition of *Atiśayokti*[23] almost verbatim from Bhāmaha as in the case of other *alaṅkāras.* Udbhaṭa is the first *Ālaṅkārika* who systematically classifies *Atiśayokti* into four kinds as -

1) *Bhede ananyatvam* (imposing identity in difference),

2) *Anyatra* (abhede) *nānātvam* (Imagining difference where there is really no difference.)

3) *Saṁbhāvyamānārthanibandhaḥ* (describing some ordinary things) and

4) *Kāryakāraṇayoḥ paurvāparya viparyayaḥ* (the reversion of cause and effect.)[24]

He illustrates these varieties in the verses - "*Tapastejaḥsphuritayā nijalāvaṇya saṁpadā.....*etc.,"[25] "*Acintayaccabhagavanaho nu ramaṇīyatā......*etc.,"[26] "*Patedyadiśaśidyota cchaṭā padme vikāśinī.....*etc.,"[27] and "*Manye ca nipatantyasyāạ kaṭākṣā dikṣu pṛṣṭhataḥ.....* etc."[28] respectively. These four forms of *Atiśayokti* which Bhāmaha does not mention, which agree substantially with the four out of the five varieties of that figure recognised by later writers like Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka and others. Udbhaṭa's definition still lacked the definite mention of *Nigīryādhyavasāna,* which is an identification of important variety based on *aupamya* is first included by Mammaṭa among the divisions of *Atiśayokti.*

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[19] *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti,* 4-3-8.

[20] *Ibid.* 4-3-10.

[21] *Ibid.* p. 60 (Ed. Motilal Banarsidass, 1983).

[22] *Ibid.* p. 60.

[23] *Kāvyālaṅkārasārasaṁgraha,* II. 11.

[24] *Ibid.* II. 12.

[25] *Ibid.* II. 13.

[26] *Ibid.* II. 14.

[27] *Ibid.* II. 15.

[28] *Ibid.* II. 16.

Rudraṭa in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* has reduced *vakrokti* to the status of a *Śabdālaṅkāra* and traces its two forms as *Śleṣa Vakrokti and Kākuvakrokti.*[29] Thus, bifurcating the concept of *Atiśaya* from the concept of *Vakrokti,* Rudraṭa has thought of *Atiśaya* as the basis of certain number of *arthālaṅkāras* along with other principles of *Vāstava, Aupamya and Śleṣa.*[30] He has explained the nature of these four principles underlying the *arthālaṅkāras.* Accordingly *Atiśaya* has been defined by Rudraṭa as -

> "*Yatrārthadharmaniyamaḥ prasiddhibādhādviparyayaṁ yāti*
> *Kaścitkvacidatilokaṁ sa syādityatiśayastasya.*"[31]

"*Atiśaya* consists in the settled nature of objects and its property being made otherwise by virtue of the disturbance of what is well known about them in such a way as to appear beyond the scope of ordinary existence."

It is clear from this definition that *Atiśaya* stands for something which surpasses the ordinary order of things. Such an *Atiśaya* occurs when the settled nature of the objects and its property become otherwise by virtue of the disturbance of what is well known.

This concept of *Atiśaya* has been advanced by Rudraṭa as one of the four principles underlying the *arthālaṅkāras.* Under this common principle of *Atiśaya,* he has tried to show the different shades of *Atiśaya* found in the twelve *alaṅkāras* of its group which are actually called by him as the varieties of *Atiśayokti.*[32] The twelve *alaṅkāras* of *Atiśaya* Group are - *Pūrva, Viśeṣa, Utprekṣā, Vibhāvanā, Tadguṇa, Adhika, Virodha, Viṣama, Asaṅgati, Pihita, Vyāghāta* and *Ahetu.*[33] The special points of *Atiśaya* in each of these *alaṅkāras* are pointed by Rudraṭa in the ninth chapter of his *Kāvyālaṅkāra.*

The above account of the concept of *Atiśayokti* can be in conclusion presented as follows :

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[29] *Kāvyālaṅkāra,* II. 14-16.

[30] *Arthasyālaṅkāra vāstavamaupamyamatiśayaḥ śleṣaḥ.*
Eṣāmeva viśeṣā anye tu bhavanti niḥśeṣāḥ. - *Ibid.* VII - 9.

[31] *Ibid.* IX. 1.

[32] *Ete tasya pūrvādayo dvādaśa bhedāh.*
- *Ibid. Vṛtti,* p. 122.

[33] *Ibid.* IX. 2.

Bhāmaha's view is that the element of *Atiśaya* identified with *Vakrokti* underlies all *alaṅkāras.* Daṇḍin holds more or less the same view. He has made his point clear in respect of the *Atiśaya* being the element required in all *alaṅkāras* except in *Svabhāvokti.* He has attempted to show some forms of *Atiśaya* involving *Saṁśaya, Nirṇaya* and *Ādhikya.* Vāmana's concept of *Atiśaya* is within the scope of *aupamya* which is the principle underlying all *alaṅkāras.* He has reduced *Vakrokti* to the status of an *arthālaṅkāra.* Udbhaṭa no where mentions the concept of *Vakrokti.* He first classifies *Atiśayokti* into four divisions which are accepted in one form or other by his followers. Rudraṭa has reduced *Vakrokti* to the status of a *Śabdālaṅkāra* based on *Śleṣa* and *Kāku.* He has thought of *Atiśaya* as the basis of certain number of *arthālaṅkāras* besides other principles of *Vāstava, Anupamya* and *Śleṣa.*

AVIMĀRAKAM - AN ENIGMA

VIJAY PANDYA*

The last word is yet to be pronounced on what is known as the Bhāsa problem. In the group of dramas termed as *Bhāsanāṭakacakra,* ascribed to Bhāsa, each drama presents its own peculiar problems. *Avimārakam,* (AV) a play also belonging to the *Bhāsanāṭakacakra,* is no exception to this. It has many similarities with the other plays in the group, on account of which, the authorship of the play was ascribed to Bhāsa. But it has many peculiarities also, which make it an 'odd play out' in the group. Hence, its authorship ascribed to Bhāsa is rendered suspect.

The strongest trait which makes this play unique in the whole group is the precocity of its author, which is not found in all other plays. Moreover, this type of precocity is not a common characteristic of that hoary age to which Bhāsa is generally supposed to belong.

This precocity takes myriad forms in the play AV, one of which is its humour in its various hues. Humour of the play is something unique and certainly it has grown out of the creative consciousness of the writer. In the domestic scene in the first act in the beginning of the play, this consciousness of the writer can be perceived. Many scholars have pointed out the resemblance between this domestic scene and that of the *Pratijnāyaugandharāyaṇa.* But this similarity is only apparent. To explain : The king is seated and the queen enters. The king comments नित्यप्रसन्नमपि ते मुखमद्यातिप्रसन्नमिव । (Act I). Now this remark is made with the tongue-in-cheek. The king straightaway cannot say 'why do you look so happy today' ? Because that would elicit the retort from the queen saying 'why, are we not always happy'? Do we always keep sullen appearances ? This mirthful spirit arising out of the precocity of the writer is missing in other plays and this precocity presupposes a long tradition of literary activity. This type of precocity just will not appear in the beginning of a literary activity. Some may feel that this is reading too much in perhaps an apparently innocuous remark. But this is not a fluke incident portrayed in the play.

Further in the same act, a minister by name Kaunjāyana comes to the king to report about the incident of the elephants which had taken place in the King's garden. This elephant-incident is also borrowed from Bhavabhūti but, it is not merely an imitation. It is employed

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here to satirize Bhavabhūti. This minister goes on narrating the incident in a long-winded manner which was highly inappropriate on the occasion. ततो गत्वोद्यानं यथासुखमाक्रीडय निवर्तमानायां राजसुतायां दासीदासहसितकथितश्रवणवृंहितमदस्रवन्मदजलार्द्रदुर्दिनाननो निहतपतितसादिपुरुषः क्षितिरजोवगुण्ठिताव्यक्तभीममूर्तिमानिव पवनो दृष्टादृष्टलघुप्रचारः स्वामिसन्निवानां वक्तव्यं जनयितुकाम इवैकपुरुषविशेषं प्रकाशयितुमिच्छन्निव मदान्धरतं देशमभ्युपगतो हस्ती । (I.5. ff)

The king stops him in the middle of his speech and says तिष्ठतु विस्तरः । ननु कुशलिनी कुरङ्गी । The minister assures him about the safety of the princess. Then the king says : Now proceed as you please.

This is also a tongue-in-cheek remark. To be more specific one can also sense a satire upon the style of his celebrated predecessor Bhavabhūti. This is an unmistakable jibe at Bhavabhūti, who in the *Śārdulavidrāvaṇa* episode, in the Mālatīmādhava, describes the tiger in the long winded manner, putting the substantive at the end of a long sentence preceded by many adjectives. The writer of the play AV implies that, when one comes at the end of such a long sentence, stating the escape of the tiger before a listener, he realises that it is a warning describing the escape of the tiger, he will in all likelihood, be devoured by the tiger. So this incident and the way the writer has described it presupposes a peculiar cranky literary way of description by Bhavabhūti. So the playwright of AV must have belonged to the Post-Bhavabhuti period.

In the AV the union and a long stay of one year of the lovers together, has been thoughtfully arranged which bears a close resemblance to the incident in the *Mālatīmādhavam,* where also a Dhātrī brings about a union between the hero Mādhava and heroine Mālatī. Even if we do not attach much significance to this incident of a minor type, there are other interspersed signs also in the play which make it a play of post-Bhavabhuti period. The author enjoys in taking potshots at Bhavabhūti. Bhavabhūti is, it is wellknown, a very strong personality in the Sanskrit literature. Bhavabhūti, in his play *Mālatīmādhava,* makes his hero Mādhava try to commit suicide, and is saved by Saudāmini. Similarly but in a different satirical vein, the writer of the AV makes his heroine attempt suicide in the fifth act. But then, at the thundering of the clouds in the sky, she gets scared and screams for help. This is really a very tongue-in-cheek comment against Bhavabhūti. Mādhava is saved in the nick of time by Kapālakuṇḍalā. Similarly Avimāraka is also saved by a character Vidyādhara. Again his character of Vidyādhara, and the way in which the couple Vidyādhara and Vidyādhari is described reminds a similar couple in the *Uttararāmacarita.*

The writer's wry sense of humour again takes a very delightful form, in the play. The institution of Ṛṣi was always held in utmost reverence in ancient India as is reflected in its vast literature. An easily provoked and *irascible* nature of *Ṛṣi* has played havoc with many innocent lives best exemplified by the character of Śakuntalā in the play *Abhijñānaśākuntala.* The writer of the play AV satirises such a character of Ṛṣi. A disciple of the sage Caṇḍabhārgava was killed by a tiger and hence the sage cursed the Sauvirarāja to be an outcaste since this incident took place in his Kingdom, on pleadings, the sage limited the effect of the curse only for one year. What follows thereafter is a remarkable example of sar-castic humour. The sage then calls out the killed disciple : ehi bhoḥ Kaśyapa and that disciple who was killed by the tiger gets up and starts following the sage, as if nothing had happened. The writer, whoever he may be, certainly pokes fun at such irascibility of the sages. The satirical vein is unmistakable. This is something most unlike Bhāsa who is the very epitome of Brahmanical culture, and such irrevenent attitude can never be expected of Bhāsa. This is also the result of the writer's precocity which permeates the whole play.

After the elephant incident, the hero Avimāraka is headlong in love with Kuraṅgi, and constantly thinking of hers. Then he thinks it to be improper to think of her. He declares अथवा अयुक्तमधृतित्वं पुरुषाणाम् । सङ्कल्पमानीं हि विषृम्जृभते मदनः । तस्मादहमदानीं न सङ्कल्पयामि । (II. 2 ff) and then immediately there is a रङ्गसूचना : (स्मृत्वा) अहो तस्या रूपसम्पद, रूपानुरूपं यौवनं, यौवनसदृशं सौकुमार्यम् and then he realises that he is acting against his resolve. So he says कथमहं पुनरारब्धश्चिन्तयितुम् । किमिदानीं करिष्ये । मनश्च तावदस्मदिच्छया न प्रवर्तते । (II, 4 ff) Ultimately he gives up the attempt not to think of her. So he says अथवा न शक्यं मनो जेतुम् । चिन्तयिष्याम्येनाम् । and then in the same vein he starts thinking of her अहो सर्वेषां स्त्रीगुणानामेकत्र समवायः । In the whole episode one can perceive that, self-consciousness is playfully working here.

One can also see a sort of playful satire upon those high officials in the administration who have a very fine art of saying nothing even when they say a lot. A messenger from Kāśīrāja has come to seek the hand of princess for the prince. So the king Kuntibhoja asks the opinion of the minister Bhūtika as to what to reply to the messenger. Bhūtika replies स्वामिन् । दूतशतान्यागतान्यागमिष्यन्ति च ।

न तत्र कर्तव्यमिहास्ति लोके
कन्यापितृत्वं बहुवन्दनीयम् ।
सर्वे नरेन्द्रा हि नरेन्द्रकन्यां
मल्लाः पताकामिव तर्कयन्ति ॥ (AV, I.9)

'In this world there is nothing we can do for them. To be the father of a virgin is to invite flattery. To a price the daughter of a king, is like the flag of victory for an athlete.'[1]

The king could not make out any thing about the opinion of the minister. So he asks the meaning of his statement. Again, the minister replies सर्वत्र दाक्षिण्यं न कर्तव्यम् । गुणबाहुल्यं तदात्वमायतिं चावेक्ष्य त्वरता दीर्घसूत्रतां च परित्यज्य देशकालविरोधेन साधयितव्यं कार्यमित्यर्थः । (I, 9ff)

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[1] Trans. Mason, Avimārakam, 1970.

'Our courtesy should not be indiscriminate. All their qualities ought to be taken into consideration. We should think of present circumstances and future consequences and avoid both haste and procrastination : I mean to say that there is time and a place for everything'.[2]

This long statement also does not improve the situations but the king gives up the attempt. He asks another minister who is also a master of evasive replies. All this is delightful and a product of a self-conscious creativity.

This precocity is seen at work throughout the play. Self-consciousness alone will not help in fixing the date, which may in turn, negatively solve the authorship problem. We have seen there are too strong allusions to Bhavabhūti to be ignored. And hence, this play seems to be a product of post-Bhavabhutian milieu.

On the grounds of manuscriptural evidence also, a doubt has been raised about the Bhāsa's authorship of the play. Dr. N.P. Unni[3] informs us about the unearthing of some more & manuscripts of the *Avimāraka* play. Out of these eight manuscripts one manuscript ascribes the authorship of the play to some Katyāyana. Dr. Unni elsewhere observes 'It is for the first time that one of the Trivandrum plays is ascribed definitely to a specific author. Here a scribe who copied the work some 300 years ago has recorded a tradition known to him. ''Now the question which baffles one is with regard to the identity of this writer. It is ridiculous to hold that Katyāyana was the family name of Bhāsa. Nobody other than T. Ganapati Shastri has connected Bhāsa with *Avimāraka.*''[4] Dr. K. Kunjuni Raja concurring with Dr. Unni observes-[5] 'One of the manuscripts of *Avimāraka* refers to it as the work of poet Katyāyana. This may not help us much in identifying the author, but it may legitimately be used as an argument against ascribing it to Bhāsa.'

Thus, along with this uncertainty of the manuscriptural evidence, and precocity permeating the whole play, Bhāsa's authorship of the play AV has once again become doubtful. So, the play AV presents a problem and hence it is an enigma wrapped in mystery. Thus the question of the authorship of the play remains open.

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[2] Trans, Mason, *Op. cit.*

[3] Vide his *Problems in Bhāsa Plays*, Trivandram, 1978.

[4] Shastri T. Ganapati, Bhasa's Plays : A Critical Study, 1985 (?) Introduction, p. 16.

[5] In Foreword to *Problems in Bhasa's Plays*, Unni. N.P. p. 16.

SUMATISAMBHAVA A LITTLE KNOWN JAINA MAHĀKĀVYA

SATYA VRAT*

Sarvavijaya Gaṇi's *Sumatisambhava* (*SS*) belongs without doubt to the galaxy of the brilliant poems that purport to be the biographies of the worthy pontiffs of the *Tapāgaccha* and thereby form reliable sources of the social history of the respective eras. It is addedly distinguished by poetic excellence. Far from the impression conveyed by its title, the Tīrthankaras Sumatinātha and Sambhavanātha have nothing to do with the poem. It seeks to describe in eight cantos the hectic career of Sumatisādhu, a pontiff of the aforesaid order, with poetic fanfare and time-worn trappings. However, the form of the poem seems to have been more important to the poet than its contents. While he sticks with tenacity to an array of mannerisms, the socio-religious activities of the *Ācārya* appear to have slid into the background. It paradoxically provides a far more detailed and trustworthy account of the colourful career of his devoted follower Jāvaḍa, the wealthy merchant of Māṇḍū.

The *Sumatisaṁbhava* is known through its solitary codex (No. 7305), preserved with the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.[1] The manuscript, though in a good state of preservation, is unhappily defective. Of the nineteen folios into which the Ms runs, the fifth and sixth are lost. A part of Canto Eight (Verses 30-43 and three quatrets of the forty fourth verse) is also missing. Elsewhere also, the Ms is tarnished by gaps and errors. Each side of the folio has thirteen lines written on it, and each line is made up of forty syllables. Annotative notes have been added, whenever necessary, in the margin or at other convenient places. The present critique is based on the transcript of its photo-copy which was lent to us by the late Agar Chand Nahta, the noted Jaina Savant and antiquarian of Bikaner.

Sumatisambhava As a *Mahākāvya*

Because of its commitment to the *Mahākāvya* - tradition, the *Sumatisambhava*, unlike the *Somasaubhāgyam*, is more effective as a *mahākāvya*, though it can hardly boast of all

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* 7/34, Purani Abadi, Near Namdev Flour Mill, Sri Ganganagar (Raj.)

1. Nahta Bhanwar Lal : "Śri Sumatisambhavanāmaka kāvya kī upalabdhi", *Jaina Satyaprakāśa*, Vol. 20, Nos. 2-3, p. 44-45.

that goes with this comprehensive form of poetry. Sarvavijaya has evidently followed the theory so far as the outer trappings are concerned. The description of citrapāṭa (Chittor) and the lovely sketches of the scenic beauties also accord with the rhetorical precepts. But the SS stands in an unenviable position with regard to the characteristics that determine the genius of the *Mahākāvya*. Not unlike the hero of *Somasaubhāgyam,* Sumatisādhu, its principal character, is drawn from the rich merchant class. He imbibes the chief virtues of a *dhīrodātta nāyaba* but in view of his deep commitment to transquility and serenity, it would be more appropriate to rate him as a *dhīrapraśānta* hero. His fame and sublime career, as detailed in the poem, responds to the injunctions of the poeticians. It is both *khyāta* and *sajjanāśrita*[2]. Of the four aims of life, *dharma* is doubtless, its driving force. It means to elevate *dharma* to the highest rung by detailing at length the manifold religious pursuits of Jāvaḍa besides Sumatisādhu's own exertions towards the enrichment of the faith. The language of the poem represents an admixture of ease and flamboyance, though Sarvavijaya has not refrained from displaying his expertise in the frustrating game of *citrakāvya.* But the SS is intriguingly shorn of the soul of poetry - the *rasa.* It would, however, be unfair to deny it the status of a *Mahākāvya*[3]. The author himself has no doubt about its genius as a comprehensive form of poetry.

Sarvavijaya And the data of the SS

Though not void of the autobiographic details, all that the SS reveals about the author is that he was a disciple of Paṇḍita Śivahema but a pupil (*chātra*) of Jinamāṇikya. In plain language it means that Sarvavijaya was ordained into the church by Sivahema but received education from Jinamāṇikya.[4] His spiritual lineage goes back to Somasundarasūri, the fiftieth pontiff of the Tapāgaccha.

The internal evidence enables us to determine the date of the *Sumatisambhava* with a fair degree of certainity. The sole manuscript of the poem is known for certain to have been written at Īladurga (Idar in Gujarat) in V.S. 1554[5]. As it refers to the installation of the Jaina images at Māṇḍū in V.S. 1547, it is safe to conclude that the SS was written somewhere between V.S. 1547 and V.S. 1554. In view of the defective nature of the poem, it is difficult to ascertain if it mentioned the death of the hero. The title of the poem (*sambhava*), however, would discourage such a supposition. That would fix V.S. 1551 as the lower limit of the poem as it was in that year that Sumatisādhu had breathed his last. Sarvavijaya's *Ānandasundara* (AS) seems to predate the SS as it purposely mentions that Sumatisādhu was alive while the poem was written. The SS may, therefore be assigned to the period between V.S. 1547 and v.s. 1551 (1490-1494 A.D.)

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[2] Śāligrāma Shastri (ed.), *Sāhityadarpaṇa,* Lucknow, V.S. 1978, VI. 318.

[3] न्यूनमप्यत्र यैः कैश्चिदंगैः काव्यं न दुष्यति ।
यद्युपात्तेषु सम्पत्तिराराधयति तद्विदः ॥ *Kāvyādarśa,* I.20

[4] शिवहेमपण्डितानां शिष्यशिशुर्वाचकेन्द्राणाम् ।
श्रीजिनमाणिक्यानां छात्रः शास्त्रं व्यधत्तेदम् ॥ *Sumatisaṁbhava,* VIII. 45

[5] सम्वत् १५५४ वर्षे श्रीइलदुर्गमहानगरे हर्षकुलगणपः सुमतिसम्भवग्रन्थमलीलिखल्लेखकेन । Copyist's concluding remark.

THEME

Preliminaries apart, the SS opens with a brilliant description of Mewad along with its capital and rulers. The country resembled an emperor in excellence and affluence. Kumbhakarṇa (Rana Kumbha) stood out prominently from among its rulers by virtue of his might, magnanimity and a host of other virtues. The extant part of Canto Two is distinguished by happy account of Jyāyapura and the wealthy merchant Sudarśana and his pretty wife Sampūradevī. They were probably the parents of the hero of the poem. The lost part of the Canto might have referred to the Conception of Sampūradevī preceded by her viewing the traditional dreams. The colophon to the third Canto suggests that in the first thirty verses, which have been unhappily lost, was described the birth and childhood of Kumāra. As revealed by the extant part, Kumāra, after his education is completed, decides to embrace asceticism. The part of the verse which must have contained the date, is unfortunately lost. Convinced that he would bring about the welfare of the people with his sharp intellect and turn out to be a worthy monk, Paṇḍita Śivahema gave him the apt name of Sumatisādhu. He soon made his mark in grammar, logic, astrology, Upaniṣads and poetics. He was equally gifted in poetry and disputation (*śāstrārtha*). Canto Five is distinguished by an extremely lively description of the allegorical fight between Cupid and the monk wherein Kāma suffered a comprehensive defeat. The first part of the Sixth Canto contains the spiritual genealogy of the earlier pontiffs, while in the later half Lakṣmīsāgara is described to have conferred on Sumatisādhu the high title of Sūri in deference to the request of the ruler of Idar. The last two Cantos have been claimed by the saga of his wealthy follower Jāvaḍa.

The life-account of Sumatisādhu, as set forth in the poem, is obviously sketchy. The lost part too could not have added much. It is the outlines of Sumati's career that unfold themselves in the poem. The author is lost for the most in descriptions and digressions. The last two Cantos, as hinted earlier, are addressed to describing the fascinating career of Jāvaḍa, and thus do not have substantial connection with the main theme. The other Cantos also abound in the descriptions of the trite phenomena, so common to the *Mahākāvyas*. The plain fact is that the SS, in its present form, is a better source of Jāvad history than the biography of the monk to whom it owes its name.

RASA

Despite the poetic garb, the SS hardly affords any opportunity for the *rasa* to express itself. No sentiment has emerged in the poem with even a modicum of intensity. It would, therefore, be futile to expect the profundity of sentiment in the SS which is otherwise the hallmark of a *mahākāvya.* There were doubtless several occasions in the poem for the poet to delineate the various sentiments but he missed them with enigmatic indifference. In view of the genius of the poem, quietism should have developed as the principal sentiment, but all that one finds is its bare mention (*raso'tha śāntaḥ,* iv. 42). The aversion to the soul of poetry reflects poorly on the poet.

The Heroic sentiment may be presumed to have developed in some measure in the allegorical fight between Kāma and Sumatisādhu though it culminates in *nirveda* rather than retribution. Sarvavijaya has sought to impart to the encounter almost all the trappings of a battle. As he learns that the monk is impervious to his operation, the mighty Cupid marches against him with his hordes with the fanfare of an emperor. He follows the ethos of war in cautioning the 'enemy' through his envoy, the *droha.* The ascetic firmly rebuts the intemperate logic of the envoy and calls the rebuff by liquidating the Cupid with the *Brahmāstra* (Weapon of knowledge).[6]

Flashes of *Śṛṅgāra* in its *ālambana* form, are seen in the course of Cupid's march and onrush of the city-damsels.

DEPICTION OF NATURE

The sizeable depiction of the natural phenomena in the bold narrative of the SS may broadly be taken to reflect the poet's love for nature in its diverse forms. It is a measure of the fancy he had taken for the scenic beauties that Sarvavijaya has drawn lovely sketches of nature in four of the eight cantos. His concept of nature is doubtless orthodox. It may lack freshness but the poet has sought to balance his traditional approach with some fine poetry. It is the ornate form of nature that attracts him the most. Though mostly based on *prauḍhokti,* the depiction of nature in the SS is enlivened by poetic excellence.

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[6] तत्रानयोः प्रबलयोर्बलयोः प्रयोगप्रवृत्ते रणः प्रववृते प्रलयोपमेयः ।
यत्रोत्पतत्पतदनेकपकुम्भकूटैर्भूमीतटं स्फुटदिति प्रतिभासु भाति ॥ SS, V. 43

केचिद् भटा घनघटा इव तीव्रतेजोविद्युल्लतावलयितास्ततगर्जितोर्ज्जाः ।
तत्रोन्नतेर्निंगमयन्ति शरावलीभिर्वृष्टिं द्विषकटकयद्भटकण्ठसीम्नि ॥ SS, V. 44

एवंविधे युधि विरोधिशिरोधिहारो मारोऽपि सन्नवधिरेष धनुर्धरेषु ।
ब्रह्मायुधादवधि येन ततः प्रसिद्धस्तेनैव स त्रिभुवने स्मरसूदनेति ॥ SS, V. 49

The description of the mountain - range, moon-rise etc. is based for the most on a variety of *aprastuta*s which often unfold themselves in the form of *utprekṣā*. Why the mountain - ranges in Mewad are moon-lit throughout the night ? The poet has a novel explanation for the banal phenomenon. In his perception the moon is so overwhelmed with the rays of the crystal stones on the mountains that Rāhu, his inveterate foe, is unable to recognise 'him'. Free from fear, the moon enjoys 'himself' with gusto, though in the process 'he' has to suffer the humiliation of being defeated by the beautiful faces of the Vidyādharīs. With equal skill the author has found the reason as to why the foots of the mountains are flooded with sun-shine in the morning ! Apprehending obstruction to 'his' horses in the high ranges of the mountains, the sun strives hard to please them by touching their 'feet' with his hands/rays (*kara*s) [I. 40, 43]

In keeping with the prevailing trend, Sarvavijaya has sought to personify nature. When invested with human character, the nature ceases to be a life-less entity and responds to human weal and woe with amazing sincerity and warmth. The way Vasanta, the envoy of Cupid, is greeted by the jungle folk is reminiscent of the welcome accorded to the dignitaries in actual life. At his departure, the creepers shower on him the rice of flowers and sing auspicious songs with the hummings of the bees. The sylvan deities perform *āratī* with the Campaka flowers. The vistas of trees regale him with dance like the professional dancers. Flattered by the unusual welcome, the spring fits the bow with the arrow of mango-blossom and prepares himself for the battle royal (v. 28-31).

Physical Beauties

Sarvavijaya has an equally sharp eye for physical beauty. The lovely description of Pārvatī's charms in the first Canto of *Kumārasambhava*, degenerated into a motif in the hands of the later poets. They vied with each other to exploit the device but none of them could match the sweetness and excellence of the original. Sarvavijaya's description of the physical beauties of Saṁpūradevī accords with the tradition. The relevant part of the Canto is unfortunately lost but whatever remains of the description reveals it beyond cavil that he means to highlight the beauties of Sampūradevī in the time-worn *nakhaśikha* manner. He has mustered for the most the traditional *upamānas* to highlight sequentially the charms of the different parts of her person but his description is not shorn of interest.

Sampūradevī's braid of hair is visualised as the sword of the mighty Cupid which has become sharper on conquering the three worlds. Her fore head mark appears to be the foot mark of the horse of fortune. Her eyebrows discourage Kāma from stringing his bow. And her side long glances seem to be the *vandanavāra* put up to welcome the Cupid. (II. 36-38, 40-41).

Kumāra represents the male-beauty. In order to focus on his physical charms Sarvavijaya has again resorted to the *nakhaśikha* device, but, has administered doses of the figures of speech like Vyatireka and Utprekṣā more frequently. Depicted thus Kumāra surpasses the charms of the god of beauty as well.[7]

Characterisation

The *Sumatisambhava* is not rich in characterisation. Only some of the characteristics of the *dramatis personae* have come under focus. Of the three characters, Sumatisādhu is the central figure, the hero of the poem. His life is a harsh saga of ascenticism, austerities and self-abnegation. He is all too given to the elevation of the faith.

Contrarily, Gajarāja is the ruler of Jyāyapura. His wealth and affluence are phenomenal. In the poetic language of the author, the goddess of wealth, Lakṣmī, has shifted to his house, discarding her inconvenient abode in the ocean. To him the fulfillment of wealth lies in liberality. In the milky ocean of his magnanimity there was neither *kālakūṭa* nor *vaḍavāgni* (submarine fire). In view of his contribution to the elevation of faith, he invites comparison with the ancient patrons like Samprati.

LANGUAGE ETC.

The narrative in the SS does not bristle with a variety of situations. Its language, therefore, lacks the varied contours that distinguish a *mahākāvya.* The poem is couched throughout in a lucid medium which forms the basis of *prasāda,* the perspicuity. However, within its limits, it accords, by and large, with the situations and ideas that obtain in the poem. The depiction of the natural and physical beauties bears witness to the author's expertise in handling the language. He is a champion of the Vaidarbhī style which is noted for its sweet phraseology and scanty or no compounds. The simple, tender and alliterative phraseology employed in describing the onset of the spring and the impatience of the womenfolk is a measure of the fancy he had taken for the Vaidarbhī style (v. 16-18).

The phraseology that the description of the eagerness of the city - damsels has claimed, illustrates best the concordance of the language to the given situation or context. Though Sarvavijaya has used it as a mere motif and it is indebted to the earlier poets on several counts, the phraseology used here is potent enough to reflect the impatience of the womenfolk[8]. The allegorical fight of the heady Cupid with Sumatisādhu, on the other hand, is couched in a language that may broadly be rated as forceful, full of *ojas,* though its lucidity is not suspect at all. The reason of the phenomenon is not far to seek. It is not a fight that involves reckless rivals, nor does it end in *pogrom.*

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[7] स भुवि तादृगमूत्सुषमाधिभूर्यदणुतां वृणुतां कमनः स नः । SS, III. 44

[8] काचिच्च कान्ता निजनेत्रमेकं शलाकया सांजनमारचय्य ।
अनंजनेनापरलोचनेन विलोकनार्थं कुतुकादचालीत् ॥ SS, IV. 27

The diaphanous lucidity lends added charm to Sarvavijaya's phraseology. But he could not escape the baneful effect of *citrakāvya,* which beginning with Bhāravi had settled as a mannerism of sorts. Sarvavijaya too has been a victim of the dubious game. The verbal jugglery in Canto Six includes a number of frustrating gimmicks. The Canto bristles with such verses as are mono - syllabic or bi-syllabic or that shun letters of various classes (*vargas*) and are otherwise demanding in several ways. These verbal gymnastics may manifest the author's skill in persecuting the language to suit his nefarious designs, they raise irritating hurdles in resolving the text. It is difficult to deal with these complexities without the help of a perceptive gloss. Such verses in the SS are mercifully not many. Some of the excerpts would drive home the author's equipment in this dubious game.

While the first of the verses, reproduced below, is based, almost entirely, on the consonant 't', the second has 'd' and 'r' as the only consonants used therein, the third is free from the whole lot of stops (*sparśas*) and the fourth has the distinction of using only the dental consonants.

तातंतं तततातातऽति ततौ नु ते ततांततम् ।
अतंति ते तं तांतौ तं तोमुतं नततेतिता ॥ SS, VI. 27

इंदिंदरोऽदरोदारादर दारेंदिरोदरे ।
अदाददारेदो दारे दुरोदरादिरोदरे ॥ SS, VI. 16

लीलावलयवल्लास्यविलासी लावशाशये ।
शशाले यस्य शालोऽसाविलशैलो रसालयः ॥ SS, VI. 31

अनाददानो निदानं निदानं दाननोदने ।
अनेनो नंदनोऽदीनो नदीन निनर्देदवः ॥ SS, VI. 46

But it is not the author's aim to air his equipment or overawe the reader with an array of *alamkāras.* The SS is no overloaded with the figures of speech. Such of them as have been used in the poem, have come naturally to it and serve to strengthen the expression. Anuprāsa and Śleṣa are the author's favourite *alamkāras.* They have been used separately and in conjunction with the other figures of speech, giving rise to Saṁkara. iv. 35 is enlivened by the sweetness of *Anuprāsa*[9]. The Śleṣa has been used quite extensively in the poem. It is mostly interwoven with the other figures of speech. Its independent use is found in describing Citrakūṭa (Chittor)[10]. Some of Sarvavijaya's *svabhāvoktis* are equally impressive (iv. 28). Besides these, Virodhābhāsa, Atiśayokti, Utprekṣā, Mālopamā, Arthāntaranyāsa, Dṛṣṭānta, Yamaka, Yathāsaṁkhya, Samdeha etc. are some of the figures of speech that have been employed in the SS to heighten the force and clarity of the expression.

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[9] इत्याद्युदन्तं समुदं वदन्तमेतं समेतं स्वजनैरनेकैः ।
विमायवान्नापि स निश्चिकायाचिराय चारित्रधुराधरीणम् ॥ SS, IV. 35

The SS meticulously follows the theory in respect of the metres as well. In all, twenty two metres have been used in the poem which vouchsafe the author's skill in prosody.

Canto one is mainly, couched in Rathoddhatā. The first two verses have claimed Śārdūlavikrīḍita and Pṛthvī, while the last two are composed in Puṣpitāgrā and Āryā. The extant part of the second Canto has Upajāti as its dominant metre. It is Drutavilambita that has been mainly used in the available part of Canto Three. However, Upajāti, Puṣpitāgrā, Aupacchandasika, Mandākrāntā and Āryā have been pressed into service for the concluding verses. Canto Four, like the second, has Upajāti as its chief metre. It ends with Śārdūlavikrīḍita and Āryā. Mālinī, Anuṣṭup and Viyoginī are the major metres in Cantos Five, Six and Seven respectively. The first verse of Canto Six is written in Gīti. The closing verses have claimed Rāmagirī rāga, Anuṣṭup and Āryā. The metres that have been used in the extant part of Canto Eight are as follows : Drutavilamibita, Upajāti, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, Vasantatilakā, Sṛgviṇī, Bhujaṅgaprayāta, Rathoddhatā, Vaṁśastha, Indravaṁsā, Mālinī, Pṛthvī and Āryā. Two verses in the Canto are mutilated beyond recognition.

Historical Data in the Sumatisambhava

As hinted earlier, the SS forms a significant source of the history of Jāvaḍa, a wealthy merchant and devout Śrāvaka of Māṇḍū. It contains an authentic account of his family, social standing and religious and philanthrophic activities.

The account in the SS begins with Jāvada's grandfather Golha. His father Rājamalla was a veritable abode of Lakṣmī[11]. As Sarvavijaya's other poem *Ānandasundara* (AS) carries a complete genealogy of Jāvaḍa's family, it was futile to repeat it here. The SS makes no mention of the social and political achievements of Jāvaḍa's predecessors, but other sources reveal that all of them except Hāparāja had earned the high-flown title of *Saṁghapati* because of their visits at the head of Saṁgha (Concourse of laity) to the various centres of pilgrimage.

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[10] यौवनानि भवनानि यत्प्रजाः शोभयन्ति परमत्तवारणैः ।
नूपुराणि च पुराणि चक्रिरे सर्वदारचितमोहनान्यहो ॥ SS, I. 21

[11] निधानवच्छ्रियाम् । SS, VII. 17

[12] *Ānandasundara*, P. 7, 9, 11

Three of them also held high offices with the rulers of Mālava.[12]. These sources also confirm that Jāvaḍa had an honourable place at the Court. Sultan Gyasuddin had bestowed upon him the sobriquet of 'excellent merchant' (*uttama vyavahārī*) and appointed him as the head of the royal treasury[13]. The title 'Laghuśālibhadra' given to him in the SS is a pointer to his phenomenal wealth.

Jāvaḍa is known to have undertaken pilgrimage to Ābū and Jīrapallī at the head of a vast concourse of *Śrāvakas.* The SS bears witness to it that he spent a mammoth amount on these pilgrimages[14], which deservedly brought him the title of *Saṁghapati*[15]. Whether he visited any other *tīrtha* is not clear from the known sources.

Following in the foot-steps of his father, Jāvaḍa invited his preceptor Sumatisādhu from Gujrat and greeted him at Māṇḍū with great fanfare. How a procession of caprisoned elephants and horses was taken out on the occasion, how the musicians played their best instruments to welcome him, how all sections of the society, both Hindus and Muslims, rejoiced at the visit and how Jāvaḍa made valuable gifts to the people, is described at length in the SS[16].

The *Ācārya's* proximity prompted Jāvaḍa to embrace the twelve *vratas,* prescribed for the *Śrāvakas.* He followed the vows with earnestness. But the way he observed some of the *vratas* was quaint, rather grotesque. For instance, while carrying out the fourth vow *brahmacarya* (Celibacy), he retained as many as thirty two women[17] and thereby sought to adhere to conjugal fidelity ! He certainly did so in imitation of Śālibhadra. As a matter of fact Jāvaḍa had four wives.[18] In keeping with the custom that obtained till recently among the Rajputs, the rest of the women might have been his keeps.

Under *aparigraha,* the fifth vow, which limits one's possessions, Jāvaḍa reserved the right to keep with him the following articles : 1,00,000 maunds of grains, 1,00,000 maunds of oil and ghee, 1000 ploughs, 2000 bullocks, ten houses, 10 maunds of base metals (copper, brass etc.) four maunds of silver, one maund of gold, four maunds of pearls, 300 maunds of jewels, 20 maunds of coral, 1,00,000 maunds of gur, 200 maunds of opium, 2000 asses, 100 carts, 1500 horses, 20 elephants, 1000 Camels, 50 Mules, 20,00,000 Tankas.[19] These numbers should suffice to give an idea of Jāvaḍa's modest affluence.

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[13] व्यवहारिशिरोरत्नानुकारि तथा गंजाधिकारी । Colophon to *Ānandasundara.*

[14] SS, VII. 24

[15] SS, VII. 69

[16] SS, VII. 26-33

[17] SS, VII. 39

[18] *Ānandasundara,* P. 17

With respect to the seventh vow that limits the number and quantity of the articles of daily use, he resolved to use the following articles only : Four seers of ghee, five seers of grains, 500 jars of drinking water, hundred types of vegetables, fruits 500 in number and one maund in weight, four seers of betlenuts, 200 betles, ornaments worth one lac, cosmetics worth one hundred Tankas, one maund of flowers, eight jars of water for bath, seven suites of dress and such other things which make a long list.[20]

As a faithful *Śrāvaka,* Jāvaḍa got installed Jina images at his native place Māṇḍū in V.S. 1547. They were consecrated by his preceptor Sumatisādhu. The images were 104 in number. But for a silver image of 23 seers and a gold-image of eleven seers, all the said images were made of brass. The images were adorned with valuable ornaments and jewel-studded *chatras.* The festivities arranged on the occasion, the gifts given by Jāvaḍa and the Jaina laity that thronged Māṇḍū from different parts of the country, have been described at length in the SS.[21]

Such then was Jāvaḍa - the man and merchant.[22] Within its limits, the SS, though fragmentary, is a good poem. It is idle to expect sublime poetry or high philosophic overtones in such writings. Sarvavijaya deserves esteem for the valuable poem, he has contributed. It is a trustworthy source of Jāvaḍa's history and is not unworthy as a piece of poetry. It is a welcome addition to the corpus of the Sanskrit Mahākāvyas.

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[19] SS, VII. 40-46

[20] SS, VII. 49-57

[21] SS, VIII. 3-24

[22] For a detailed study of Jāvaḍa's history, See C. Kraujhe : ''Jāvaḍa of Māṇḍū'', *Madhyapradesh Itihāsa Parisad Patrikā,* No.4, 1962, P. 131-144. Its Hindi translation by me was included in *Karmayogī Kesari Chand Surāṇā Abhinandana Grantha,* Ranawas (Raj.), 1982, Section Six, P. 86-93.

THE KATHAKAUTUKA - A PERSIAN LOVE POEM IN SANSKRIT GARB

RANI MAJUMDAR[*]

In the medieval period, a large number of Sanskrit works were translated into Persian at the courts of Firuz Shah Tughluq at Delhi, Zain-ul Abidin at Kashmir and Jalaluddin Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri. These rulers established at their courts special departments of translation (*Dar-ul Tarjuma* or *Maktabkhana*) where Hindu, Jaina and Muslim scholars worked together in preparing the translations. Though most of the works thus translated are scientific texts dealing with astronomy, astrology, mathematics, medicine, music etc., some epic and narrative texts like the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Rājataraṅgiṇī, Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā* and *Pañcatantra* were also rendered into Persian.[1]

However, not many works seem to have been translated in the reverse direction, i.e. from Persian to Sanskrit. A notable exception is Shrivara's *Kathākautuka* which is the Sanskrit version of the famous Persian poem *Yusuf-u-Zulaikhā* by Nuruddin Abdur Rahman Jami. The credit of discovering this work and bringing it to light goes to the German Indologist Richard Schmidt who published a study in 1893 comparing the *Kathākautuka* with *Yusuf-u Zulaikhā*.[2] Five years later, he brought out a Sanskrit edition together with a translation in German.[3] In 1901, the Sanskrit text was published for the first time in India in the well-known Kāvyamālā Series.[4]

Shrivara, the author of the *Kathākautuka*, was a court poet of Zain-ul Abidin, who ruled Kashmir from 1420 to 1467 A.D. Shrivara was also tutor to several of Zain-ul Abidin's

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1. On this translation activity, see especially Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Religion and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign,* New Delhi 1975, pp. 203-222.

2. Richard Schmidt, *Das Kathakautukam des Srivara verglichen mit Dscamis Jusuf and Zuleikha,* Kiel 1893.

3. Richard Schmidt, *Srivaras Kathakautukam, die Geschichte von Joseph in persisch-indischem Gewand,* Kiel 1898.

4. Ed. Sivadatta and Pandurang Parab, Bombay 1901 (*Kāvyamālā* Series No. 71).

dscendants. Three of his works have come down to us : *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī, Subhāṣitāvali* and *Kathākautuka*. It is well known that Kalhaṇa composed a chronicle of Kashmir entitled *Rājataraṅgiṇī.* This work deals with the history of Kashmir from the earliest times up to Kalhaṇa's own time in the middle of the twelth century. Shrivara's teacher Jonaraja[5] extended this chronicle from 1150 to 1459 A.D. Following his footsteps, the pupil Shrivara further extended the chronicle from the year 1459 to 1484 A.D. He named it *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* after his patron Zain-ul Abidin. Shrivara compiled the *Subhāṣitāvali* towards the end of the fifteenth century. It is an anthology of verses culled from the compositions of some 380 poets.

The third work *Kathākautuka* was composed in 1505 A.D. in the reign of Mohammad Shah. Here Shrivara attempted a Sanskrit rendering of the Persian love poem *Yusuf-u Zulaikha.* The poem is based on the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife as narrated in the *Bible* (Genesis 39) and the Quran (xii Surah Yusuf).

Jacob was very fond of his virtuous son Joseph. Therefore his brothers were jealous of him. Once they took Joseph along to play and threw him into a pit. Joseph was rescued by some travellers who took him to Egypt and sold him there to the Potiphar, the chief of Pharaoh's bodyguard. Attracted by Joseph's uncommon beauty Potiphar's wife tried to seduce him. But when he resisted her advances, the scorned woman tore his shirt and complained to her husband that Joseph had tried to outrange her modesty. Because Joseph's shirt was torn only in the back, Potiphar was convinced that his wife's charge was false. Therefore, he declares :

> "Joseph turn away from this;
> and thou woman ask forgiveness of your crime,
> surely you're one of the sinners."

But, in spite of Joseph's innocence, he was put behind bars. While in prison, Joseph once interpreted the dreams of two fellow prisoners, who were court officials in disgrace. As predicted by Joseph, after a few days, the two men were released. Two years later, the Pharaoh had a dream which nobody could explain. The two court officials remembered Joseph's interpretation of their dreams and informed the king about him. Joseph was released and brought to the king. Joseph interpreted the dream to the king's satisfaction and was appointed guardian of all storehouses in the kingdom. Later on, Joseph was united with his father Jacob and the brothers.

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5. In *Kathākautuka* I. 40, Shrivara expressly states that Jonaraja was his teacher :
तस्मिन्मया पण्डितजोनकाख्यं नत्वा गुरुं पण्डितश्रीवरेण ।
भूपालतुष्टौ सुरलोकवाण्यारम्भोऽध्वनाकारि मनोहरोऽयम् ॥

A similar account is narrated in the *Quran* (xii : Surah Yusuf). It is interesting to note that in both the holy books, it is Joseph's/Yusuf's wisdom and ability to interpret dreams which enable him to get out of the prison and to attain a high position at the Pharaoh's court. Both the holy books lay stress on Joseph's manly beauty. According to the *Quran* (xii. 31), the women of Egypt called him a noble angel. He was also addressed as *al-Sadik,* i.e. "the pious and the just". The beauty of his exterior form was supposed to be a symbol of the beauty of his soul. Through the vicissitudes of his fortune in Egypt, he grew in knowledge, judgement and power.[6]

The story of Yusuf and Potiphar's wife was a favourite theme of Persian writers. Many Persian writers like Shihab-al Din, Amaq and Masud of Qum, and also some Turkish writers, based their poetic compositions on this story.[7] But Jami's treatment of this theme is the most famous of all.

Nuruddin Abdur Rahman Jami, popularly known as Mulla Jami, was born in 1414 A.D. at Jam, a small town in Khurasan. He is one of the most learned sufis and mystic poets of Persia. A versatile writer both in prose and poetry, he composed some fortyfive works. Some of his important works are *Nafahat-al-uns, Baharistan, Kulliyat, Diwan, Haft Aurang, Yusuf-u-Zulaikha* and *Laila-Majnu.*[8]

Of all these compositions, the *Yusuf-u-Zulaikha*[9] is considered to be the most celebrated work. Jami based his work on the Quranic version of the story of Yusuf. However, in the Quran, as also in the Bible, Potiphar's wife is depicted as an evil temptress. But Jami gave to the old story a new dimension. In his version, Potiphar's wife (here referred to by name as Zulaikha) is not an evil temptress. It is not carnal passion that draws her towards Yusuf but love of sublime nature. Accordingly, Jami modifies the original story. Discarding the early history of Joseph and his brothers, he concentrates entirely on the story of Zulaikha and Yusuf[10] : Zulikha's relentless longing for Yusuf, her long sufferings and her final reunion with the beloved. Thus for Jami, the story of Yusuf and Zulaikha becomes a parable of the human soul's love of the highest beauty and goodness — "a love which attains fruition only when the soul has passed through the hardest trials, and has like Zulaikha, been humbled, purified and regenerated."[11]

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[6] *Concise Encyclopaedia of Islam,* pp. 428-429.

[7] Cf. A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature,* London 1958, p. 442.

[8] *Ibid,* pp. 425-50.

[9] Translated into English by R. T. H. Griffith. *Yusuf and Zulaikha,* London 1882. It may be noted here that R. T. H. Griffith was a great Sanskrit scholar, who prepared metrical translations of all the four vedas between 1889 and 1896.

[10] Cf. Reuben Levi, *Persian Literature, An Introduction,* London 1923, p. 84 : "Jami's work appears marred by much bombast and hyperbole and most of all by the predominant mysticism which entirely overshadows the story. It nevertheless has the advantage..... in that it confines itself to the story of Yusuf and Zulaikha without detailing at great length the early history of Jacob, Joseph and his brothers."

Jami makes additions at the beginning and at the end of the traditional story. In his modified version, the story runs as follows : Zulaikha was the daughter of powerful king named Taimus. Once in her dream she beholds a very handsome youth and falls in love with him. All her friends come to know of her longing but are helpless. A few days later, she sees him again a second time in her dream and asks him who he is. But the youth just smiles and asks her to wait for some time if she really loves him. When the king comes to know of his daughter's infatuation, he orders her to be bound in chains. Desperate Zulaikha dreams of the same man for the third time and now at her request he reveals his identity as Aziz-e Misr, minister to the King of Egypt. Out of his love for her, Zulaika's father arranges her marriage to this Aziz-e Misr. After the wedding, she leaves for Egypt together with a large retinue. On the way, the caravan stops for the night. Zulaikha, who was impatient to see her husband, peeps through a hole in the tent and is astonished to find that the Aziz-e Misr whom she married is not the same one whom she saw thrice in her dream. The dejected Zulaikha follows the husband to Egypt but continues to pine for the beloved of her dreams, who is none other than Yusuf.

The story now continues as in the two holy books : Yusuf as a slave in the household of Zulaikha, her advances, Yusuf's refusal, his imprisonment, interpretation of the dreams of the fellow prisoners, interpretation of the king's dream, Yusuf's appointment as a high royal official — all these events are narrated as in the Bible and the Quran.

The finale is once again an innovation by Jami. After some years, the king and his minister (i.e. Zulaikha's husband) both die. Then the people of Egypt install the noble Yusuf as their ruler. In the meantime, Zulaikha turns old and becomes blind, but she continues to pine for Yusuf. Seeing her steadfast love for Yusuf, people request Yusuf to marry her. Yusuf is convinced of her love and agrees to marry her, but he is still young and handsome and Zulaikha is old and blind. Then Zulaikha expresses two wishes: first to regain her beauty, youth and sight; secondly she wishes to be at the side of Yusuf for ever. Yusuf begins a prayer and a healing stream runs from his pure mouth and restores Zulaikha's beauty, youth and sight. The second wish is granted by the Angel Gabriel who brings a message to Yusuf from God Almighty in these words :

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[11] R. T. H. Griffith, *Yusuf and Zulaikha,* Preface, p. viii.

Mine eyes have seen her in humble mood
I heard her prayer when to thee she sued,
At the sight of her labours, her prayers, and signs
The waves of the sea of My pity rise.
Her soul from the sword of despair I free,
And here from My throne I betroth her to thee.

It is this romantic version by Jami, which Shrivara undertook to render into Sanskrit. The Sanskrit translation was made during the reign of Muhammad Shah in 1505 A.D., i.e. very soon after the composition of the original by Jami. This fact shows vividly how Jami's fame spread from Persia to Kashmir in a very short time. Of course, Persian had become the court language in Kashmir under Zain-ul Abidin and Shrivara appears to be not only well-versed in Persian language but also well read in Persian literature.[12]

The *Kathākautuka* has fifteen cantos and is a faithful rendering of Jami's work into Sanskrit. However, Shrivara incorporated a number of changes into his composition. The main cause of these changes are differences in the religious persuations of Jami and Shrivara. The two introductory chapters of the Persian original are devoted to the praise of the Prophet Muhammad and his miraculous journey to heaven. Being a devout Shiva worshipper, Shrivara praises Shiva in the first and last cantos of his composition. The final fifteenth canto explains how people can overcome all worldly miseries and attain supreme bliss by worshipping Shiva, the Ultimate Reality.[13]

Shiva also plays a role in the final denouement in Shrivara's work. Here when Zulaikha prays for the restoration of her youth and beauty, a heavenly voice commands her to ask for a boon from Shiva. Shiva not only rejuvenates Zulaikha but also reunites her with Yusuf.[14]

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[12] In the colophons at the end of each canto of the *Kathākautuka*, Shrivara proclaims himself to be *yavana-śāstrapāraṁgama.*

[13] 27 :

त्वत्परः को जगन्नाथ कर्णधारो भवाम्बुधौ ।
तारयत्युडुपं मूर्ध्नां धारयन्योऽखिलं जगत् ॥

[14] *Ślokas.* 38 - 61.

લેખકોને :

૧. પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ નકલમાં ટાઈપકામની ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગુજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૨. લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ, પૃષ્ઠ, એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩. 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કૉપીરાઈટ મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪. સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫. પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખી જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : **રાજેન્દ્ર આઈ. નાણાવટી**

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે - વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક, જન્માષ્ટમી અંક, અને દીપોત્સવી અંક.

લવાજમ :

- ભારતમાં ... રૂા. ૪૦.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- પરદેશમાં ... યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે ... ૧૨.૦૦ ડૉલર (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે ... પૌ. ૭.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમવર્ષ જાન્યુઆરી થી ડિસેમ્બર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું

નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામન્દિર,
મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ,
વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.

જાહેરાતો :

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાતો આપવા માટે લખો

સંપાદક, 'સ્વાધ્યાય',
પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામન્દિર,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ, વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.

HISTORY OF THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS OF GUJARAT

ATUSHA BHARUCHA IRANI*

History of Research

A lot has been written on the coins and inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas in the past hundred years. This makes it difficult to write a history of research. For the lack of space, only the important works will be mentioned here.

The best known works on the Western Kshtrapas are by Rapson[1] and Mirashi[2]. The former is a work on coins of these groups of rulers from which their history and genealogy has been traced. The second work is mainly a history written from inscriptional evidence and is used as an important source of history since it is also a later publication compared to Rapson. Other sources of information on this epoch are Konow[3], Scott[4] and Dubrieul[5]. Another known work (in Gujarati) on the Western Kshatrapas is that of Jamindar[6]. These works are the main sources for the history of this period. Others included among the above are Rapson's[7] History.

The most important primary sources for this period are the coins and inscriptions. No other material is available. Specifically Gujarat faces this problem. The articles on these sources are too numerous to mention all of them here. However, a few inscriptional data

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[1] Rapson, E.J. *Catalogue of the Coins in the British Museum* British Museum, London. 1967.

[2] Mirashi, V. V. *History and Inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas,* Bombay, Maharashtra. 1981.

[3] Konow, Sten, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol II, Govt. of India, Calcutta, 1968.

[4] Scott, W.H. "Hoard of 1200 Kshatrap Coins" *Journal of Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society,* (JBRAS), Vol. 20, P 201. 1899.

[5] Dubrieul, G.J. *Ancient History of the Deccan,* Dikshitar, Pondicherry, 1920.

[6] Jamindar, R.C. *Kshatrap Kalnun Gujarat, (Gujarati) Gujarat* Vidyapeeth, Ahmedabad, 1975 (a).

[7] Rapson, E.J. *Cambridge History of Ancient India,* London.

are used in the articles of Gokhale[8], Banerji[9], Banerji and Sukthankar[10], Jamindar[11], etc. Dr. S. Gokhale's major work is on the incriptions from the monastic cave complexes of the Deccan. The four inscriptions on a single slab of stone pertaining to the joint rule of Chashtana and Rudradaman is a major document of the *Kardamaka* rulers next to Rudradaman's Junagadh Rock Inscription. The Rock Inscription is a eulogy proclaiming Rudradaman's benevolence and prowess in many fields and therefore is not as authentic as the evidence provided by the *Andhau* inscriptions. The Mewasa Stone Inscription from eastern Kutch was deciphered by Dishkalkar[12].

This inscription was erected by an Abhira recording the building of a shelter for his master who is unnamed but is a Kshatrapa. Jamindar has identified the ruler as Rudrasena I[13]. Another important work on the Saka Kshatrapas is of Chattopadhaya[14]. The latest work on the Western Kshatrapas is by Jha and Rajgor[15]. The entire genealogy of the *Kardamaka* rulers was made known through their coins. On the reverse of their silver coins a legend mentions the name of the ruler and his father *"Raja Mahakshatrapa Rudradamaputrasa Raja Mahakshtrapa Rudrasimha"*. It was through these coin legends that we know Chashtana was Rudradaman's grandfather and that Rudradaman was Jayadaman's son. Some of the silver coins of the *Kardamaka* family have the date written on the obverse of the coin behind the ear of the bust. Rosenfelds[16], is another important study on the Saka Kshatrapas.

Results of Observations

The term Western Kshatrapas that previous historians like Rapson[17], etc. have used is a misnomer and can often lead to a misunderstanding. The term Kshatrapa or

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[8] Gokhale, S. *Journal of Ancient Indian History* (JAIH) Vol. 2, p. 104, 1968.

[9] Banerji, R.D. Rudradaman's Andhau Inscription, *Epigraphia Indica,* (EI) Vol. 16, 1921 p. 19.

[10] Banerji R.D. & V.S. Sukthankar, Junagadh Inscription of Jayadaman. EI, Vol. 18, 1921, p. 339.

[11] Jamindar, R.C. Andhau Inscription of Rudrasimha, *Sambodhi* Vol. 3, 1975 (b).

[12] Dishkalkar, D.B. New Light on the History of the Western Kshatrapas. *Indian Oriental Conference,* Vol. 1, 1928, p. 565.

[13] Jamindar, R.C. Mewasa Inscription, *Panchala Shodh Sansthan,* Vol. 7, 1994, p. 115.

[14] Chattopadhaya, S. *Sakas In India,* Vishwabharti, Calcutta 1967.

[15] Jha A. & Rajgor D., *Studies In The Coinage of the Western Kshatrapas,* Anjaneri, Nasik, 1994.

[16] Rosenfeld J.M., *Dynastic Art of the Kushans,* Berkeley University of California Press, 1967.

[17] Rapson E.J., *Catalogue of the Coins in the British Museum,* British Museum London, 1967.

Mahakshatrapa is a title because an inscription of one Mahakshatrapa Rupiamma from Bhandara district[18], is not that of a Saka Kshatrapa but of another ruler who had adopted the title. According to Thosar[19] *Rupiamma* is the Prakrit version *Rukmi. Rupi* is the main name and *amma* being the suffix. He has been connected to Rukmi of Rukmini known from the *Mahābhārata.* Mahakshatrapa has been used by a Vasisthiputra Isamahisa. Known from his coin legend, the metronymics (mother's name, Vasisthi) is a Satavahana trait[20]. The metronymics suggests that his mother was a Satavahana and the reverse of the coin has a kharoasti legend "Mahakshatrapa" which is a Saka Kshatrapa characteristic. It is peculiar that the metronymics have proved stronger because the Saka Kshatrpas appear to be a patriarchal society. Therefore, the term Kshatrapa is a title and not a dynastic name. Hence, Kshatrapa should not be used to denote a dynasty.

The inscriptional evidence from the areas the Kshatrapas controlled, and their coinage show the "Western Kshatrapas" to be different groups. Kshatrapa is a derivation of *Kshatrapavan*[21], a sanskritized term for governor. In Persian many scholars like Dubrieul[22], etc. believe the Kshatrapas to have been governors under a higher power like the Kushanas. There is no mention of a higher power in the inscriptions of Chashtana's or Nahapana's family. However, the inscription of Patika[23] mentions the name of a higher authority. Inscribed are the words "The inscription was erected in the 78th year of the Great Moga." Such an attribute is not seen from inscriptions belonging to Chashtana's or Nahapana's family. Infect the Daulatpur inscription of Chashtana[24] which is said to be Chashtana's earliest inscription is dated in year 6 of Chashtana's region. This means that the dating of the inscriptions of Chashtana's family start with the reignal years of Chashtana and carry on to the next ruler.

The Western Kshatrapas are actually two families quite different from one another. It would be more appropriate to call them the *Kshaharatas* and the *Kardamakas.* They ruled over Western India and hence called the Western Kshatrapas. The family name, *Kshaharatas* originally appears to have been the name of a place. In the Taxila Copper Plate of Liaka Patika[25] *Kshaharata* has been mentioned as "Liaka Kusulaka as a Kshatrapa of *Chhaharata* and Cuksa." Therefore, Chhaharata was the name of a place near Taxila. Probably, the family took the name *Kshaharata* while residing near Taxila and came to the Deccan from the north. The *Kshaharatas* may have broken away from their overlords in the northwest and moved south, the reason they haven't mentioned their overlords in the Deccan inscriptions.

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[18] Mirashi V.V., *Op. Cit.*

[19] Thosar, H.S. Vestiges of the Mahabharath, *Journal of Epigraphic Society of India,* Vol. 18, p. 28, 1992.

[20] Gokhale S., A Unique of Mahakshatrapa Isamahisa, ND, Vol. 15, p. 30. 1991 (a).

[21] Sykes, W.H., *History of Persia,* MacMillan & Company, London, 1915, p. 172.

[22] Dubrieul, J., *Op. Cit.*

[23] Konow, Sten., *Op. Cit.,* p. 23.

[24] Mirashi, V.V., Daulatpur Inscription of the reign of Chashtana, yr 6, *Journal of Oriental Institute,* Baroda, Vol. 28, 1978, p. 34.

The *Kshaharatas* were the earlier ruling family[26]. They have been called a family because of the similarity in their coin legends. The legend *"Kshaharatasa Kshatrapa A(bhe-ghu) dakasa Iyanasa,"* brought to light a new ruler[27]. The coins of the *Kshaharatas* do not always depict similar motifs. The coins of *A(ghu-bhe) dakasa* shows winged Nike standing to right, holding a wreathe on the obverse, with an unintelligible greek legend. The reverse displays a lion wheel standard atop a pillar with the above mentioned Brahmi legend. Bhumaka, another ruler of this family exhibits an arrow and thunderbolt with *Kharoasti* inscription on the obverse. Lion and wheel standard atop a pillar and Brahmi legend *"Kshaharatasa Kshatrapa Bhumakasa"* is seen on the reverse. The obverse on another coin is the same as the above coin but on the reverse a four spoked wheel over a base and similar Brahmi legend can be seen. Therefore, the coin motifs are not the same. It wasn't untill Nahapana's time that silver coins with bust of king along with the *Kharoasti* legend on the obverse and motifs like arrow, thunderbolt and pellet with Brahmi legend on the reverse were issued. Some of Nahapana's copper coins depict bust of king on the obverse with Nahapanasa in Brahmi. The reverse shows arrow, thunderbolt and Brahmi inscription Kshaharatasa. Other copper coins portray elephant, arrow, thunderbolt and Brahmi legend *"Rano Kshatrapasa [Na]hapanasa"* on the obverse.

The reverse shows tree in railing with big leaves and dots[28]. *A(ghu or bhe) dakasa* coins reveal an unintelligible greek legend on the obverse. Its features are normally associated with the silver coins of Chashtana's family. None of the coins of the other *Kshaharata* rulers show the almost decorative greek legend. Could it be that *A(bhe or ghu) daka* was a later *Kshaharata* ruler. *Kharoasti* legends found on the obverse of coins of most other *Kshaharata* rulers is known to be due to their contacts with the Northwest, (now in Pakistan and Afghanistan). As these rulers became more entrenched in the Deccan and Western India,

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[25] Konow, Sten., Ibid.

[26] Jha A. & Rajgor D., *Op. Cit.,* p. 2.

[27] Altekar, A.S. A Kshaharata Copper Coin, *Journal of Numismatic Society of India,* Vol. 12., 1950, p. 7.

[28] Jha A. & Rajgor D., *Op. Cit.,* p. 79-87.

Kharoasti was sidelined and replaced by the local Brāhmi. *Kharoasti* was a regional script of northwest Pakistan and Afghanistan and lost its utility from south of these areas.

All the inscriptions of the *Kshaharatas* were found from around Junnar, Nasik and Pune. They are mainly donative in character which record endowments made to monastic sects by royalty, merchants and craftsmen. Only the name of the reigning ruler is mentioned in these inscriptions.

The Kshatrapa rulers who ruled over Gujarat are the *Kardamaka* family. None of their inscriptions or coins mention them as *Kardamaka.* However, the *Kanheri* Cave Inscription, the wife of Vasisthiputra Sri Satakarni has referred to herself as from the *Kardamaka Kula*[29]. Rudradaman has mentioned in his Junagadh Rock Inscription that he twice defeated a Satavahana whom he did not exterminate on account of being not too distantly related. The king that *Rudradaman* defeated was *Siva Skanda Satakarni*[30].

The silver coins of this family have bust of king and decorative greek legend on the obverse and three arched hill symbol with sun, crescent moon and wavy line along with *Brāhmi* legend *"Rajno Kshatrapasa Jayadamaputrasa Rajno Mahakshatrapasa Rudradamasa"* on the reverse. Base metal coins are characterised by animal motifs with legend *"Rano Mahakshatrapasa Rudradamasa"* on the obverse, arched hill, crescent and wavy line on the reverse. The coins of the early rulers like *Chāshtana and Rudradaman* - I do not always follow the normal pattern of motifs. The lead coins of Chashtana depict crescent, sun and Brāhmi legend on the obverse. The reverse has a sixarched hill with crescent on top and a *Khāroasti* legend[31].

The inscriptions of this family are unique. Most of them are memorial stones which mention the name of the *Kārdamaka* rulers right from the founder down to the reigning ruler. The name and *gotra* of the deceased, his close relatives and the name, *gotra* of the erector is also recorded. These inscriptions are dated in the year of the *Kārdamaka* rulers, year 11 of Chashtana, year 103 of Rudrasimha[32]. The inscriptions are the earliest of their type.[33] These characteristics are not found in the case of the *Kshāharata* inscriptions. Therefore, the two major Western Kshatrapa families are two different families.

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[29] S. Gokhale, *Kanheri Cave Inscriptions.* Deccan College, Pune, 1991 (b), p. 62.

[30] Jha A. & Rajgor D., *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.

[31] *Ibid,* p. 31.

[32] Gokhale S., Andhau Inscription of Chashtana. JAIH, Vol., 2. 1968, p. 104 ; Banerji, R.D. Andhau Inscription of Rudradaman. EI, Vol. 16, 1921, p. 19.

[33] Sarkar, H. *Chhayastambhas from Nagarjunkonda.* Settar & Sontheimer, G.D. Memorial Stones Dharwad, 1982, p. 199.

According to Ptolemy[34], Ujjain was Chashtana's capital. This seems improbable because :

1. All the *Kārdamaka* inscriptions are located in Gujarat, the earliest dated ones are located in Kutch. This observation is supported by Law[35]. Jamindar[36] also thinks that *Andhau* (the findspot of 6 *Kārdamaka* inscriptions) might have enjoyed a good political status during the *Kārdamaka* times.

2. The Bharuch-Ujjain trade route was important in the Sino Roman trade in luxury goods. Whoever fortified and ruled Gujarat could control this lucrative trade. The eastern flank of Gujarat has low rolling hills covered with teak forests, further, they were inhabited by warlike Bhils. The eastern flank formed the boundary between Bharuch and Ujjain. As Gujarat appears to be the *Kardamaka* stronghold it seemed logical to strengthen Gujarat and control Bharuch.

   According to those supporting Ujjain as *Chāshtana's* capital, *Pāṭaliputrā* was the acknowledged capital from the earliest times till the Greeks invaded Kharavela under Demetrius, inspite of lack of inscriptional evidence. Puranic accounts support *Pāṭaliputra* being a capital[37]. There is support that Ujjain was an important regional town as a provisional political centre of Avanti and a trading centre, but never the centre of power of the *Kārdamaka* family.

3. Except *Rudradaman's* Junagadh inscription and Jayadaman's grandson's inscription which is of a religious character[38], the other inscriptions were engraved and erected by common people. The practice of commemorating *Kārdamaka* rule by mentioning the name of all *Kārdamaka* rulers right from the founding ruler down to the reigning ruler indicates the deification of the *Kārdamaka* rulers. Thus signify the dominance of the *Kārdamaka* rulers over Gujarat.

Unlike the *Kshaharatas* there is no evidence of donations made by the *Kārdamaka* rulers to the monastic sects. Inscriptions of the donative type are absent from Gujarat and so are land grants or village grant inscriptions. Yet there are a number of Buddhist/Jain cave complexes around Junagadh. This along with the presence of the Boria stupa and

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[34] McCrindle, J.W. *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy,* 1927.

[35] Law, B.C., *Ujjain, An Early History*. Gwalior, 1944, p. 18.

[36] Jamindar, R.C. Andhau inscription of Rudrasimha I, *Sambodhi 3,* 1975.

[37] Majumdar R.C., *The Vedic Age,* Vidya Bhavan Series, Bombay 1988, p. 328.

[38] F. Kielhorn, Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman., EI, Vol. 8, 1905, p. 36.
Banerji R.D. & Sukthankar V.S., Junagadh Inscription of *Jayadaman*. EI, Vol. 18, 1921, p. 339.

Intwa monastery on either side of the Girnar hill, a damaged stupa on the banks of the Sarasvati river and a monastery from Amreli testify to the importance of Central Saurashtra as a religious centre[39]. From *Rudradaman's* Junagadh Rock Inscription the source of wealth is known to be from taxes on trade, specially on precious stones. Inspite of all this there is no direct evidence of royal patronage to monastic sects. The monastery of Intwa revealed a clay seal inscribed with "This seal is of the *bhiksu sāmaghasya of vihara of Māharaja Rudrasena"*. Palaeographically it has been dated to the 2nd c. A D[40]. This can be taken as a subtle indication of Buddhist *Kārdamaka* affiliation. Besides, the lack of evidence of donations by the *Kārdamakas,* there is none from the merchants of Gujarat either. According to Thapar[41], the *Kārdamakas* were *Sakas,* they were foreigners and therefore, *varṇa* status was denied to them. *Varṇa* status, genealogy traced to an important ancient dynasty and a landbase went hand in hand. Indigenous landbase proclaims kinship links or earlier established lineages. Without these criteria land could not be granted by rulers. Therefore, *Kārdamaka* rulers could not issue land grants.

Inscriptions recording donations given to Buddhist monasteries in the Deccan owe their presence to the economic dynamo of the Deccan and South India under the Satavahanas.

Resources like ivory, precious stones etc., are plentiful in the domains of the *Sātavāhanas* and allowed craftsmen and guilds to flourish. Thus enhancing the economic condition of their rulers' domains and contributing to the Buddhist cave monasteries who helped further agriculture and control trade. The products supplied by the *Sātavāhana* demand a high price in the western markets like Roma and fuelled the trade networks. Agricultural products like grain, edible oil and ghee were provided to seafarers by the people of Gujarat as Saurashtra was not only the last stop before the voyage westwards but also where could be practiced on a larger scale compared to the other places on the west coast. Bharuch was connected to all this trade which flowed from Bharuch to Ujjain and then to China. Bharuch, therefore controlled this trade of Western India. The Rome-Chine trade lent importance to this area ever since the land route between Rome and China was closed by the Roman-Parthian wars. The rulers of Gujarat, the *Kārdamakas,* taxed this trade passing through their territory. This was the source of *Kārdamaka* wealth. The dearth of resources consequently meant a near absence of craftsmen and guilds in Gujarat. Agricultural goods do not generate large amounts of revenue accorded to precious commodities like ivory, cloth, precious and semi precious stones, jewellery aromatic oils, unguents and wood. Probably this may be the reason why donative inscriptions are absent from Gujarat.

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[39] Chhabra, B. Ch. Intwa Clay Sealing, EI, Vol 28., 1949, p. 174; Cousins, H. Boria Stupa of Junagadh, JBRAS, Vol. 60, 1891, p. 17; Sankalia, Harmatia Stupa, IAR, 1971-72. p 73; S.R. Rao, Excavation at Amreli, Museum & Picture Bulletin, Baroda, Vol. 18, 1966, p. 34.

[40] Chhabra, B. Ch., *Op. cit.,* 1949.

[41] R. Thapar, *Interpreting Early India.* Oxford University Press, London. 1992, p. 153.

Four inscriptions referring to the joint rule of *Chāshtana* and *Rudradaman*[42] mention the term *sramanera* which means a novice (Personal communication with Anura of Sri Lanka), an indication of Buddhism. All the inscriptions from Kutch are memorial stones. Archaeological evidence from near the inscription shows a lack of structures, absence of mounds and presence of pottery only. The pottery is of two types[43]. Artifacts found at sedentary sites tend to be more numerous than those found at non sedentary settlements[44]. Most of the Kutch sites are small, not measuring more than 100 by 150 m. As people tend to move less frequently sites increase in size and shows a thickness of deposit[45]. This is clearly not the case with a majority of the Kutch sites. Hence, there is a clear indication of pastoralism and semi nomadism.

Giving the names of *Kārdamaka* rulers right from the founding ruler down to the reigning ruler, erecting inscriptions recording the death of a person, giving the names of the deceased and his family, his *gotra,* is a form of ancestor worship. The erector and the deceased in whose name the inscription is being erected are common men. The Central Asian tribes like the Massagatae, Soghdians etc., followed a similar custom. The idea was to commemorate the death of a person and his deeds so that his soul will not be forgotten and laid to rest. The deeds of the dead are considered as an inheritance of the clan and must be protected by celebrations and monuments against the death of the soul. The death of the soul is the same as being forgotten. The system of erection of figures representing the dead person or menhirs was followed in the stepp areas from the 1st millennium B.C.[46]. Therefore, the archaeological evidence, the similarity in character of the Kshatrapa period memorial stones and the above practices, point towards a pastoral semi nomadic way of life[47]. Therefore, the *Kārdamaka* Kshatrapas of Gujarat ruled over pastoralists and marginal agriculturalists and may be had a pastoral background in the beginning. This is the only way to explain the absence of a large settlement near the important centre of Andhau now almost deserted.

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[42] Banerji, R.D. Andhau Inscription of Rudradaman, EI, Vol. 16, 1921, p. 19.

[43] Robertshaw, P.T., Pastoral Peoples In The Archaeological Record, *World Archaeology,* Vol. 15, 1983, p. 75.

[44] Rafferty, J. *Archaeological Record on Sedentariness;* M. Sçhiffer, *Recent Advances In Archaeological Method and Theory,* Vol. 18, 1985, p. 117, 131, 135.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Jettmar, K. *Middle Asiatic Heritage of Dardistan.* East & West, Vol. 17, 1967, p. 27.

[47] Bharucha, A. *Explorations In Kutch, A Preliminary Study.* Deccan College Bulletin, 1996 (In Print).

THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN VEDIC AGE

L.M. JOSHI*

Introduction

From the dawn of the creation human being has expressed his gratitude towards the Highest being. This feeling in the hearts of the human being to express his sense of gratitude to the god worked as the seed of an idea which gradually developed into the words of praise.

The hymns in the Vedas seem to be of this nature. The *Ṛgveda* is accepted as the oldest treatise the world over. The very topic and thought of Vedas seem to be early thought of human civilization. In Vedas ,particular human being is not described as a God. Vedic deities are the natural phenomena ,which help and favour to save and sustain human life and also fulfill their basic need or requirement. They also help Vedic man against calamity. Attributes of these deities are wisdom, valour, power, light and concern.

The Beginning

Thus in the *Ṛgveda* natural phenomena are personified as Gods. People in *Ṛgvedic* age were living in tribes and groups and later on they started to think about society. The society was in its premature condition. But the formation of society and nation had started taking its shape. Vedic people seem to be very much conscious about their unity. Because they were aware that without unity they will not be able to form a society and good nation gradually. Thus looking to the society reflected in the *Ṛgveda* we can say that it is the oldest treatise.

First of all their basic need was to protect themselves from wild animals, to get light during night and to prepare their food. So they have accepted fire ***"Agni"***, as their God. They also used to please Agni by giving oblations in the form of sacrificial sticks and other offerings. They were also afraid of natural calamities like excess rain, stormy wind so they also personified and used to worship rain as ***Parjanya***, wind as ***Marut***, and water as ***Varuṇa***. In Sūrya-sūkta Sun is praised as brilliant light giving God. Other gods like ***Viṣṇu, Uṣas, Mitra*** etc. are also there. But above all the most powerful and valourous god is ***Indra***, who can control all these natural phenomena and can also protect their lives from their enemies.

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In almost all Vedic hymns these deities are praised and invoked for the blessings. because they were progressing day by day. They were afraid - will they be able to enjoy the fruits of their deeds ? At the same time they were also knowing that they can face all the difficulties when they are together or united . Thus in vedic hymns in most of the places plural is used to convey their unanimity. Vedic man never thinks about individual. It is always said "Bless Us ".They demands unity from gods. They always ask for the welfare of the society, prosperity, growth, health and wealth in the form of cattle and sons.

The concept of their unity is always reflected directly or indirectly in most of the hymns. It is never said let myself be happy. But it is always said 'Let we be' or Let all be happy'

सर्वेऽत्र सुखिनः सन्तु सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः ।
सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु मा कश्चित् दुःखमाप्नुयात् ॥

May all be happy and healthy .May all observe good. Let not anybody be unhappy. Vedic man is not selfish. He is performing sacrifices unitedly. He offers and relinquishes for the betterment of society. Every thing is in accordance during Vedic age. Let us take the famous Gayatri Mantra.

ॐ भूर्भुवः स्वः तत् सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ।[1]

The Concept of Friendship

This means "that adorable glory of the brilliant Sun we contemplate. May he inspire our intellect." Their is joint demand that Sun should inspire intellect of all of them. This idea of unity never comes without the idea of friendship. Considering the factor of friendship the Devine Friend god ***Mitra*** is introduced. He is always praised as he brings people together. Thus ***Mitra*** is nothing but the personification of friendship. This Devine friend is worshipped as the true king of all the people. Whom all can accept as their ruler.

In Yajurveda (36-18) it is said

मित्रस्याहं चक्षुषा सर्वाणि भूतानि समीक्षे । मित्रस्य चक्षुषा समीक्षामहे ।[2]

May I look upon all the beings with a friendly eye. May we look upon each other with the eye of a friend. It is the friendliness which forms unity.Here मित्रस्य चक्षुषा refers to sun. Sun is in the sky and from that place if one sees or from that angle if one observes then he will believe in the concept of वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्. Because what he will behold from there is united world.

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1. ṚGVEDA . 3/62-10
2. YAJURVEDA. 36-18

It is this rule of divine friendship that was the basis for the Aryan kingdoms. It was the unity of monarchy and democracy; the rule of the divine lord who is one in all. Thus, this god represents their mind in which there was a state of universal friendship. In one hymn it is said O MITRA declaring yourself divine friend, you are bringing people together. When we have idea of friendship in our mind then we can think of *abhaya* fearlessness as it is said-

अभयं मित्राद् अभयं अमित्रादभयं ज्ञातादभयं परोक्षात् ।
अभयं नक्तं दिवा नः सर्वा आशा मम मित्रं भवन्तु ।।[3]

May we be without fear of friend or foe, of unknown or known by night and by day. May all the directions be friendly to me..

अभयं न करन्यन्तरिक्षमभयं धावापृथिवी उभे इमे ।
अभयं पश्चादभयं पुरस्ताद् उत्तरादभयं नो अस्तु ।।[4]

Let there not be any reason of fear from all directions as I am united.

Unity In Diversity

Secondly, we see unity in diversity in the Vedic age. The entire-पुरुषसूक्त is the example of it.

सहस्त्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात् ।
स भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वाऽऽत्यतिष्ठद्दशांगुलम् ।।[5]

It means thousand headed is he with thousand eyes and feet. Encompassing the earth on all sides. He has transcended all over the world. One more hymn can be quoted here.

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहुर् अथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति अग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ।।[6]

Many names are given to call him who is one, It is also said

एक एव अग्निः बहुधा समिद्धः ——————

Agni is one but kindled in many places एकः सूर्यो विश्वं अनुप्रभूतः[7]. One is the sun that shines upon all things. Thus diversity and unity are reciprocally illustrated. Further this unity is otherwise explained in the following hymn of *Yajurveda.*

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[3] .ATHARVAVEDA 19/15-6

[4] Ibid.

[5] ṚGVEDA. 10/90-1.

[6] Ibid.1/164-46.

[7] Ibid..8/58-2.

यत्र ब्रह्म च क्षत्रं च सम्यञ्चौ चरतः सह ।
तं लोकं पुण्यं प्रज्ञेषं यत्र देवाःसहाग्निना ।।[8]

Where scholars and rulers move together in concord; where gods dwell with Agni. That world I know as holy world. So it is expressed that harmony among all castes[10] or classes in the society should be maintained. Over and above, when conflicts regarding god is not there then. That country is to be considered as united. This type of harmony only can bring national unity.

National Unity

National unity is more expressly described in the following hymn.

संगच्छध्वं संवदध्वं सं वो मनांसि जानताम् ।
देवा भागं यथा पूर्वे संजानाना उपासते ।।[10]

Meet together, speak together. Let your minds be in concord. As gods of yore being of one mind accept their sacrificial fire. Even gods accept the offering when every thing is done in concord. It is further said that this unity or togetherness only can result when we have

समानो मन्त्रः समितिः समानी समानं मनः सह चित्तमेषाम् ।
समानं मन्त्रं अभिमन्त्रये वःसमानेन वो हविषा जुहोमि ।।[11]

Let there be common counselling and let there be common meeting. Let there be common mind and the thoughts also should be common. Only commonness is taught. So I worship you all with a common oblation. Such type of integrity is hardly found anywhere in the world. Not only that but further it is said

समानी वः आकूतिः समाना हृदयानि वः ।
समानमस्तु वो मनो यथा वः सुसहासति ।।[12]

Common be your inclinations. Be your hearts of one accord. May you all be of one mind. May all live well together.

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8. YAJURVEDA.20-25.
9. Also see. ATHARVA. 19/62-1 and YAJUR.18-48. Harmony in all castes.
10. ṚGVEDA.10/191-2.
11. Ibid. 10/191-3.
12. Ibid. 10/191-4.

What else can be national unity than this. Vedic men have always said that there should not be any conflicts between gods. If conflicts amongst god arise then their unity will be destroyed. Therefore they also pray for the unity of god.." Where all gods dwell together with Agni ".

तं लोकं पुण्यं प्रज्ञेषं यत्र देवाः सहाग्निना ।[13]

Over and above their identity is also dscribed the *Yajurveda*,32 -1

तद् एव अग्निः तद् आदित्यःतद् वायुः तद् चन्द्रमाः ।
तद् एव शुक्रः तद् ब्रह्म ता आपः सः प्रजापतिः ॥[14]

It is also said that National unity is possible when there is unity in their house. Therefore they say "By which the gods do not part from each other ,do not hate each other. For that concord among the members of your house I pray here.

येन देवा न वियन्ति नो च विद्विषते मिथः ।
तत् कृण्मो ब्रह्म वो गृहे संज्ञानं पुरुषेभ्यः ॥[15]

In Vedas this unity is extended up to universe and it is said where the universe becomes one nest…

यत्र विश्वं भवति एक नीडम् । तस्मिन्निदं सं च वि चैति सर्वम् ॥[16]

.in Him all this unites etc.

Even though living in groups or tribes they were quite aware that so many tribes and groups have formed a nation. That nation is to be protected by a good ruler. This ruling is possible only with the spiritual knowledge and discipline. We can see the same idea in the following hymnof the Atharvaveda, which means that a powerful ruler with his strength of celibacy and austerity protects fhe nation by all means.

ब्रह्मचर्येण तपसा राजा राष्ट्रं वि रक्षति ।
आचार्यो ब्रह्मचयेण ब्रह्मचारिणम् इच्छते ॥[17]

The concept of happy, prosperous and united nation is very high in the eyes of a Vedic man he says " to him who offers this sacrifice may a youthful heroic son be born, a champion,

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13. YAJURVEDA. 20-25.
14. Ibid. 32-1.
15. ATHARVAVEDA.3/30-4.
16. YAJURVEDA.32-8.
17. ATHARVAVEDA.11/5-17.

a chariot-fighter and persuasive speaker in assemblies. May heavens rain in accordance with our needs. May our plants ripe and bear fruits in season. May joy and prosperity be to us.

जिष्णू रथेष्ठाः समेयो युवास्य यजमानस्य वीरो जायतां-
निकामे निकामे नः पर्जन्यो वर्षतु ।
फलवत्सो न ओषधयः पच्यन्ताम् योगक्षेमो नःकल्पताम् ।।[18]

When we read the hymn from Yajurveda 22.22* then we come to know what they had in their mind about the nation and their leaders .As it says "o Brahman may the priest be born brilliant with sacred knowledge. May the warriors be born brave skilful archers, excellent marks men, invincible chariot- fighters. Thus their concept about nation and the leaders was very high. They always believed that one should enjoy the wealth and food by sharing it with friends and Gods. One who does not share the wealth or food with gods and friends his enjoyment is sin and it is as good as his death.

मोघमन्नं विन्दते अप्रचेताःसत्यं ब्रवीमि वध इत् स तस्य ।
नार्यमाणं पुष्यति नो सखायं केवलाघो भवति केवलादी ।।[19]

In the Vedas we find many such hymns which clearly convey that they were quite conscious about their unity, discipline etc. Even today the hymn from *Ṛgveda* gives us inspiration to unite. "The rocky stream flows on, come ye together. Act bravely friends and cross the river over. Let us leave behind who cause unhappiness. This mantra of *Ṛgveda*(10-53-8) also gives massage for unity.

Thus in the Vedic age people were much aware about their unity and Nation.

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18. YAJURVEDA.22-22.

19. ṚGVEDA. 10/117-6.

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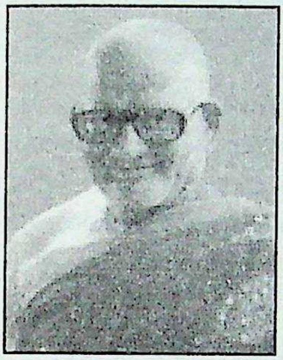

VIṢṆUDEVA S. PAṆḌITA
(1915-2000)

A scholar of ancient Indian literature Paṇḍita Viṣṇudevaji from Gujarat died recently. He gave a wide range of books, beginning from small booklets on the *Satyanārayaṇa pūjā* or the *Naciketā* to the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* or twelve voluminous mega size books on all the four Vedas. He was an orthodox Veda-chanting brahmin. He associated himself with the cause of Harijan - up - liftment and Sarvodaya with Ravishankar Maharaj. He involved himself in the activities like arranging marriages between uppercaste and Harijan families, *Bhāgavata - pārāyaṇa* in Harijan families and having food along with them. In the later stage of his life, Peace Message (*Śānti Paigāma*) booklets showing the similarities of *Mantras* in the Vedas and *Āyats* in the *Quran* were published to promote the sentiments of unity, brotherhood and peace. Thus it was a life well-spent for human welfare and Indian studies.

He was born in 1915 A.D. in a place called Haldhara-vas of Kheda District of the Gujarat State. He studied at Varanasi and then had his degree of M.A. from the Bombay University. He gave his services to the Gujarat Vidyasabha, the Shryas - Retreat and the Petlad Sanskrit Pathashala. He gave up his job abruptly and surrendered himself to the fascinating world of writing. Bhikshu Akhandanandji of Sastu Sahitya Vardhak Office inspired Vishnudevaji to compile and to translate the *Subhāṣita-Ratna-Bhāṇḍāgāra* into Gujarati. Shri Ishwarbhai Patel, Chairman of the University Granth Nirman Board was instrumental in getting from Vishnudevaji important work of 24 booklets giving simple introduction of all the four Vedas. Swami Gangeshwaranandji inspired him to give a studied discourse of Vedic tradition through Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣat, Śrauta-sūtras etc.

Twelve voluminous books of this scholar on all the four Vedas are published by the Gujarat State Government. The booklets giving the introduction to Vedas are published by Granth Nirman Board. Panditaji has also published some other works like *Gāyatrī - Upāsanā, Pañcāṅga Vijñāna,* the legendary stories on Lord Shiva, Krishna, Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, Shri Vallabhacharya, Devī-Śakti etc. to promote the cause of Hinduism. The information regarding various branches of the Vedic Saṁhitās, its Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣadas is available in his volumes. The primary information on the various types of *Yajñas* in the *Yajurveda* is given in his volumes. The detailed information on contents and methods of *Yajñas* like *Agnihotra, Aśvamedha* and *Rāja-sūya* is given in his books. There is rarely any *Yajña* of the Vedic tradition which is not discussed in his literature. It is noteworthy that the description of whole vedic tradition and translation of Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣat, Śrauta-sūtras including their *Bhāṣyas* are available only in one language that is Gujarati by Pandit Vishnudevaji.

He prefered a secluded life away from the world, because he had his own world. He used to say "Here are Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Yajñavalkya, Bhāradvāja, Vyāsa, Vālmīki, Kālidāsa, and Bhavabhūti. They are calling me. They are asking me to speak with them. Where can I go leaving them alone ?" Inspite of such a strong bond and association with such rich volumes he was always cheerful, and smiling. His poetic heart would always come forward with beautiful interpretations depicting truth from the Vedas, abandoning all the heaviness attached to them. He would say "'Viśvāmitra' means a friend of the universe; 'Madhuccandas' means sweet worded person, i.e. one who lives amicably with everyone, one who visualizes thought and language is a *Ṛṣi* i.e. a seer of the Vedic *mantra*. One who does not speak, but thinks is a *Muni;* one who gives a new principle is an *Ācārya*; one who spreads knowledge and information is a *Śāstrī;* and we all are *Śastrīs*"

He was an active member of some institutions like Shri Bruhad Gujarat Sanskrit Parishad, Vishwa Sanskrit Parishad, Bhartiya Sanskar Dham, Amrutam Trust, Akhil Gujarat Ved Parishad etc. He also established his own institution the Madhur Jyot Trust-Ved Prakashan Samiti for the publication of *Veda Bhāṣyas.*

He received a number of awards, to mention a few of them, President's Award for his contribution to Vedic literature (1998); Awards by Sanskrit Parishad of the Gujarat-State from Porbandar, Gondal, Dwarika, Somnath and Kamchi-Kamkoti.

Pandit Vishnudevji will aways be remembered as a national scholar in the field of Vedic literature along with luminaries like Ved-Darshanacharya Swami Gangeshwaranandji, Shripad Satvalekarji, who dedicated their lives for the cause of vedic literature. Pandit Vishnudevji breathed his last on 31-3-2000. A glorious chapter is closed after his departure. His works in the form of booklets or volumes will keep on illuminating the grand structure of vedic literature for many many years to come.

May God grant his soul eternal peace and *sadgati.*

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Vasantkumar M. Bhatt

DR. H. C. BHAYANI
(1917-2000)

Dr. H.C. Bhayani, a distinguished scholar of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabharmśa, and Medieval and Modern Gujarati passed away in Mumbai on 11th November, 2000.

Harivallabh Bhayani was born on 26th May, 1917 at Mahuva in Saurashtra, now a part of the State of Gujarat. He was educated at Bhavnagar and Bombay (now Mumbai). In 1941 he passed his M.A. in First Class, with Sanskrit as principal and Ardhamāgadhī as subsidiary subjects, winning the prestigious Bhagwandas Purushottamdas Prize in Sanskrit, from the University of Bombay. He obtained the Ph.D. degree in Prakrit from the same University in 1952. He worked as Lecturer and Reader at Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai from 1945 to 1965, as professor of Linguistics, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad from 1965 to 1975 and as Honorary Professor of Prakrit at the well-known L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad from 1975 to 1985.

Bhayani was invited to deliver Lectures by various Universities and Research Institutes of repute. To mention only a few : he was invited in 1967 to deliver the famous Wilson Philological Lectures and in 1968, to deliver Thakkar Vasanji Madhavji series Lecture by the University of Bombay. In 1986 he delivered MM. Dr. P.V. Kane Memorial Lecture at the invitation of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

He was elected as President of the Prakrit and Jainism Section of the All India Oriental Conference in 1955 and as President of the Research and Criticism Section of the Gujarat Sahitya Parishad Conference in 1972.

He was recipient of several Awards, all important in their own way. Here mention may be made of two outstanding and prestigious awards. In 1985 he was awarded Certificate of Honour as an eminent Sanskrit Scholar by the President of India. In 1993 the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University conferred on him the School's Honorary Fellowship for his life time devotion to the cause of exploring Gujarat's contribution to the culture of medieval and modern India. He was awarded the MM Dr. PV. Kane Gold Medal in 1990 by the ageold Asiatic Society of Bombay. In 1998 he was decorated with the Honorary Degree of D. Litt. by the Saurashtra University (Gujarat).

Bhayani had a versatile mind. He was capable of dealing with different subjects like Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa, Old Gujarati, Modern Gujarati, Grammar and Linguistics.

He was a voluminous writer. He has edited from original manuscripts various texts in Sasnkrit, Prakrit, Apabhrmśa and Old Gujarati along with their Studies. He has brought out Collections of his papers pertaining to Linguistic, Literary and Cultural Studies of Classical Literatures. He has also published his Rederings/Translations of about a dozen of works in Sanskrit, Pāli, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa, and over a dozen of Grammatical and Linguistic works. He has also to his credit eight Collections of his Critical Essays and half a dozen of Folk-literary Studies and editing of Folk-Song Collections. This brief summary will give one an idea of what a prolifle writer Bhayani was !

As a person Bhayani was truly an example of simple living and high thinking ? He was very unassuming. He, however, never compromised where his self-respect and loyalty to principles were concerned. He was an erudite and profound scholar but he never wore learning on his person. He had a very plesant sense of humour. He was fond of Jokes. When he himself or some one of his friends cracked jokes he used to laugh heartily. He has left behind his wife, son, daughter-in-law and a grand daughter.

In Bhayani's death not only Gujarat but our country has lost a very devoted and one of the most prominent indologists of international fame.

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REVIEWS

THINKING RITUALLY - Rediscovering the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā of Jaimini **: by Francis X. Clooney S.J., Pubd. by Institute Für Indologie der Universität wien, Universität Sstrasse-7, A-1010, Wien, pp.294, Price : Not Printed**

Rediscovering the Pūrva Mīmāṁsa of Jaimini among the six systems of Indian Philosophy is a genuine piece of research work in ancient Indian tradition and thought of Indian Vedic heritage. Many Christian Jesuits have made very significant contribution to Indian thoughts of philosophical reflection and present work on *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā* is one such work. There are seven chapters, select bibliography and two appendices. In each chapter there are substantiations by relevant *sūtras* of Mīmāṁsā. There are different aspects of the Vedic research such as language, *Mantra*, procedure, content, ethical as well as ritualistic and reflective *'Dharma'* which are intensely taken into cognizance and all these are blended into one homogeneous unity of thought.

In the first chapter, author undertakes past work already done and work accomplished. Present work is not just a repetition of the past work but it is retrieval and reconstruction of the system taking into consideration several criticisms and need of modern times to bring new perspective in the work. Usually Mimāṁsā consists of two joined systems known as *Pūrva* and *Uttara Mīmāṁsā.* Among host of disagreements among Ācāryas, it is difficult to find unanimity of thoguht in Vedic heritage and continuity of reflection. Moreover, there have been commentaries and *Vārttikas* on the *Sūtras.* It is not proper to read and understand the *sūtras* without the approach and thought of the commentator. Both Kumārila and Prabhākara have written commentaries over the *sūtras.* Author has attempted to understand the *sūtras* in the light of the commentaries. As a school it is better if it is understood as school of exegesis, as a school of philosophy and as theory of sacrifice. Mīmāṁsā is usually understood as part of *Yajurveda* and *Brāhmaṇas* which are again supposed to be conjoined with *karmakāṇḍa,* ual practices and performance of sacrifice. Author has taken into consideration this supposition in reflective manner and has explored the *mantras* in an analytical way and in philosophical implications.

The debate is prevalent as regards the true meaning of the *mantras* of *Ṛgveda,* their true import, essence and purpose to delineate Reality. In modern times the Renaissance

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thinkers have pointed out the knowledge-oriented import of Vedic thoughts and *mantras.* Author has referred to several learned scholars who have earlier written on Mīmāṁsā such as Ganganath Jha, Francis X.D'sa, D.V. Garge and P.M. Modi who has written on *Brahmasūtras.* After the Vedic literature, especially the Upaniṣadic period, there arose the problem of offering the oblation to certain god, bringing the import of *mantras* to the level of masses; there were infiltrations from outside the country, there arose *adhikārabheda* and consequently the process of decline continued, more and more complications arose regarding nature of activity, true meaning of *varṇāśramadharma,* sacrifice and *dharma* itself. The 'Smṛtis' were formulated to explain the *Puruṣārthas, varṇa,* status of woman, marriage, rights in society, duties, virtues and obligations. It was at this juncture that 'Mimāṁsā' literature stepped in with its 1000 and 'odd' rules for the interpretation and right understanding of what is said and uttered in the *mantras* with which *'Vidhi'* to be performed.

Author has rightly compared Mīmāṁsā with legal procedure and reasoning. In Law there is exploration of fact and evidence whereas here in Mīmāṁsā there is precise procedure to follow a sacrament and *mantra* for guidance. There is a reasonable conclusion by the author to the effect that Jaimini's text took shape between fourth and second century B.C. with the redaction available in 2nd cent. B.C. and Śabara's *bhāṣya* is written at least two or three centuries later. It is true that so far as the meaning of word is concerned they are taken literally. For example in 9.4.1-21, mention of the archetypal *'adhrigu' mantra* of the 26 ribs of the animal to be killed, if in the ectype several animals are to be killed, is it said that '52 ribs' or '78' or does the working of the *mantra* remain unchanged ? The decision was that quality of the ribs is intended and not the complete animal (along with the ribs), the number should be doubled or tripled accordingly. Interpretation of terms used in the *mantra* is the moot point of reference whether it is physical, natural or is it 'symbolic'. The problem of ritual taken in religious sense touches the point whether physical and natural things and animals are to be sacrificed in the alter for their own sake or whether for the sake of 'Good of the self' ? This is usually the literal interpretation adopted in *'Aśvamedha yajña'* and *'Rājasūya yajña'.* Even now the heinous practice of killing goats, sheep and other animals before the idol of 'Kālī' in Calcutta is continuing because the meaning adopted in sources such as mīmāṁsā, tantra, purāṇa and other sources of religion is understood to be just literal. The injunction of Yāska in *'Nirukta'* is not taken cognizance that it is the spiritual meaning of the term or *'Dhātu'* which is to be taken into account. Aśva is taken in literal sense with the result that at the end of long journey of winning countries, is killed in the sacrifice. Brāhmaṇas who are following the ritualistic line of thinking have been arguing to the effect that it is very difficult to change the context and interpret the entire paraphernalia into mental and spiritual framework.

With regard to legal reasoning and its comparison author is clear and says that it is not possible to derive unchanging rules and Mīmāṁsā tradition did not succeed in replacing the variety of cases and questions presented in the *Sūtras* with a perfect set of rules or principles. In the third chapter 'Jaimini's regular vocabulary and the event of Sacrifice', author undertakes several topics of *Prakṛti, Vikṛti, Pradhāna, tantra* and others and suggests significant remarks on relationship, motivation, origination, actualisation, being and making, the event and organising the Veda. In this case author recognises new context and suggests innovations in the undertaking of interpretation. He says, 'Changes in the *mantra* will have to be made to suit the new context. At the same time author accepts the *'Apauruṣeyatva'* of Vedas as it has been accepted in the tradition and that is why it is called 'Orthodox'. Vedas, it is said are 'Revelations' heard in the heart of the Ṛṣis and they are indeed 'Śruti'. However, the point to be noted is the hypothetical nature of the sacrifice, priest, presumption and meaning of the *mantras.* It is said, 'the Vedic word and rituals precede the human beings who hear the word or perform the actions, *autpattika* will come to suggest 'prior to any human construction', 'always there' as far as we are concerned. It is true that author takes this with caution. Question regarding beginning of duty and *'Pravṛtti'* is taken into consideration and it is held that it is only after the *'Upanayana' saṁskāra* is performed that duty is initiated. Here *agnihotra* and other persons who perform the sacrifice are presumed. It should be noted that formerly women too were initiated and were called *'Brahmvādinī'* and this can be corroborated from Upaniṣads wherein Gārgī, Bhāratī and Maitreyī were permitted to take part in philosophcal debates. Manu says that *'Yatra Nāryastu pūjyante remante tatra devatāh'* which implies that for a long time women were regarded as equal to men. It is true that the meanings of the terms such as *'Pravṛti', 'Nivṛti'* have been understood in context of sacrifice and its performance. *Nivṛti* means completion, *Pravṛti* means performance and accomplishing of task. Author suggests changes in the meaning. *Nivṛti* occurs also when there is transfer of activity as in music. Similarly there is significant discussion on the term *Dharma* which has several prevalent meanings. Here author brings certain relevant points such as *artha, kriyā, bhāva, saṁyoga and codanā* and suggests innovations in their interpretation. There is an undue emphasis in Mīmāṁsā on actual events as *maimāṁsaka* intends to bring into focus the image of sacrifice.

Here issue in moral thought and reflection on moral activity are significant and Jaimini's view as well as modern moral thinking on prescriptive language are similar. A prescriptive injunction should end into activity in like manner in Mīmāṁsā judgement should end into activity. Is *dharma* the object of injunction ? Later Prabhākara raises significant point wherein he thinks that object of 'Good' is not result of activity, but, its own value. It is duty for the sake of duty. At times it appears that aim of Mīmāṁsā is largely enveloped by utilitarian motive that is the attainment of *apavarga.* This point is well brought out by the author in the next chapter related with Buddhism and it is said that it is Buddhism which upholds the true connotation of activity as 'Moral activity'. It is here in Buddhism that *'Dharma'* gets its ontological status which has a prescriptive, utilitarian and sacrificial role in Mīmāṁsā. That use of *Dharma* in Mīmāṁsā is sacrificial and empirical is endorsed by the author. He says, '*Dharma* does not present us with an additional transcendent reality or person-oriented value or duty. *Dharma* is to be identified with the *artha* which undergirds every element of the sacrifice as purposeful and includes every particular perspective, even that of the performer.' (P.158) Aim of the work, author says, is to bring human person into centre in the broader network of value and connection. It is true it is in the Mīmāṁsā that question of Vedic schools (*Śākhās*) has arisen and it is discussed. However it is on this point that Buddha has criticised Orthodox system by raising that how could truth be found in the Vedic system if its proponents cannot agree among themselves ? Buddha disowns Vedic system on two counts, one, it concerns itself with details of sacrifice, performer, content, the chanting of *mantra,* purpose, fruit and imagined goal and secondly, discrimination shown against persons such as women and low caste. It is held by *mīmāṁsaka* that wife is 'purchased' (*krītatvāt*) and her ownership of wealth can only be figurative. There is an iota of truth in this criticism of Budha for it was not the original import of *varṇāśramadharma* to let down any group or individual in value or dignity in view of social development. Women have their own wealth and they are never without possession. *Strīdhana* is possessed by woman and she can never be deprived.

Besides this, Buddhims does not accept the procedure of offering animals for the sacrifice. It was in this context that there arose vehement opposition against Vedic truth and Buddha propounded non-violence and insistence on *Aṣṭaṅga Mārga* leading to *Nibbāna.* He put the human anxiety and value in the centre by rejecting sacrifice as truth of human liberation. There is similarity between Brahmanism and Buddhism as both deny the self and God as the creator of the world. It is true that Brahmanism insisted on action but that action as Buddha insisted is to be performed by each and every individual for moral good as *Dharma* and attainment of *Nirvāṇa.* Wilhelm Geiger has suggested that term *Dhamma* is substituted for Brahman by Buddha deliberately for moral orientation leaving aside its metaphysical implication. *Dhamma* was supposed to be an adequate support for Buddha to combat against Brahmanism and to fill in the new content of moral good, benevolence and compassion as against the sacrifice and its performance. The path to deliverance is the realisation that the *dharmas* alone are real and that all combinations of them are merely names devoid of underlying reality.

Author brings forward an important point of personal experience of validating the truth inferred. Buddha attributes the differences to the fact that none of these Brahmins had personal experience to validate their teaching. A question raised before Vasistha and

Bhāradvāja, 'But is there a single one of the Brāhmanas mentioned in the three Vedas who has ever seen Brahma face to face ? But is there then a single one of the teachers of the teachers:...? Not content with their concession of even this much, Buddha leads them to admit that not even the original Ṛṣis saw Brahma face to face. The young Brahmins come to realise that the Buddha is different. 'He, by himself, thoroughly understands, and sees as it were, face to face this universe- including the worlds above with the gods, the Mars and the Brahmas; and the world below with the Samanas and Brahmans, its princes and peoples; and then he makes known his knowledge to others.

Mīmāṁsā critique of human factor responds to the criticisms voiced here regarding the value of caste and the authority of the Ṛṣis and Vedic Schools. Jaimini sidesteps these criticisms of Buddha and Buddhism by asserting the things devalued or condemned are of secondary importance. If Buddha refuses to attributed any intrinsic worth to Brahmins, Jaimini states that their sacrificial roles are not based on intrinsic attractive qualities (*guṇas*). That they can perform sacrifices is simply a question of *saṁskāras,* preparation to which they are entitled simply because the Veda says they are entitled. The deficiency of Śūdras is not a failing or we akness they can remedy; the Vedic description of potential performers simply excludes them. Jaimini has similarly deflected the Buddhist critique of Ṛṣis and *Śākhās.* The Ṛṣis and their successors are merely expounders (*pravaktṛ*) of a complex interrelationship of word, purpose and action that pre-exists them and is independent of human authority and creativity. the Mīmāṁsā is as relentlessly analytic as Buddhism. However, for Mīmāṁsā word (language) is an irreducible factor in the make-up of the world. Unlike the Buddhists, the *Mīmāṁsakas* recognise that Vedic language is from the beginning part of experience and innately related to *artha,* purposeful and meaningful.

In the last two chapters author discusses the concept of *Apūrva* and the view of Prabhākara and Kumārila regarding *Apūrva* and other topics of Mīmāṁsā. As regards *Apūrva* it is held to be an unseen reality and yet intervenes between the person who performs sacrifice and the result obtained. There is a supposition of heaven to be attained and accordingly Śabara thinks that between person and result of sacrifice there ought to be the unseen agency of *Apūrva.* In order to find coherence in the full act of sacrifice, Śabara thinks that it is essential to suppose the agency of *Apūrva.* Coherent meaning of the sacrifice is transferred to *Apūrva* and its reality pervades the entire activity. There arises a question regarding the 'knowledge' of *Apūrva* if it is used as causal process. Jaimini uses the term but does not discuss this point. Śabara discusses this point and thinks that it is a causal agency. If it is so then its knowledge involves subjective reflection. If the notion of causality is applied to *Apūrva* it would not be possible to think it to be implicit in time. Again what would be the status of *'Dharma'* vis a vis *Apūrva* ? This question would complicate the notion of reality of *Apūrva*. Author has shown the dissatisfaction of Kumārila over the notion of *Apūrva* and his debate over the postulation of *Apūrva* which is not guaranteed by the *Sūtras.*

Author has undertaken the task of writing an elaborate as well as critical exposition of the *sūtras* of Jaimini and its commentators. It is well printed and it is a remarkable systematic work on *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā.*

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MYSTICISM IN SHAIVISM AND CHRISTIANITY **: Edited by Bettina Bänmer, Pubd. by D.K. Printworld (P.) Ltd., New Delhi, Ist edition : 1997, pp. XVI+365, Price : Rs. 450=00.**

The editor deserves congratulations for a timely publication as "in our times of religious fundamentalism and conflicts, a dialogue of religious is a necessity". In her introduction she defines mysticism as healing the soul or restoring original unity. The word uni-verse signifies diversion rooted in and reducible to unity. It stands for God-realisation or recognition of our true nature both of which have a direct bearing on our normal life. We can find and enjoy the Divine in all things and ways in our daily dealings.

In "What is Mysticism", Alois M. Hass clarifies the idea of mysticism as reaching the ground of the soul, the core of one's being by rending the web.

Swami Nityananda Giri in his *"Source of All Bliss"*...quoting Bhagavan Shri Ramana Maharshi avers that *Śaiva Siddhānta* and *Vedānta,* the paths of devotion and knowledge lead to the same end by eliminating the erroneous sense of "I" and "mine".

In "The Mysticism of Jesus....." Raimon Panikkar makes the point that textual and contextual evidence may help in grasping the "what" of a person, but love which is non-dualistic experience involving "going out" and "going in" at the same time, enables one to reach the core of an individual and penetrate his self-consciousness. If we fail to know Christ in this way, that is seeing Christ's mystery as our own mystery we tend to make him a museum piece. There are several important insights in this long article. However, he could have presented his theme in less words with greater precision.

In *"Divine Recognition"* H.N. Chakravarti brings about the secret of Kashmir Śaivism saying that liberation is gradual recognising of one's true nature like the prince abducted by robbers, identified by his ministers, trained in statecraft and finally revealing his true identity.

Sr. Brigitte in the most enlightening and brilliant article *"On Litting God be God..."* presents systematically the mystic experience of Meister Eckhart who boldly asserted that God and Godhead are entirely different and that in his essential nature man is one with Godhead and as such above God as we understand God as the beginning of creation. When the ego which does not let God be God in us is know to be illusory and transient, duality is transcended. Then man, freed from his "I", from creatues and even from his (idea of) God, becomes what he has ever been and shall ever be. I recall here the similarity of Eckhart's non-conformist statements and Shri Ramana Maharshi's experiential assertions. The former was subjected to proceeding for heresy, while the later was hailed by his Hindu followers and even by Christian aspirant like Arthur Osborne and others, as God walking on the earth in human form for by his grace he was experienced by thousands of people to be their inner controller.

B.N. Pandit in *"Śāmbhavopaya, The Divine Way in Káshmir Śaivism"* speaks of *āṇava, śākta and Śāmbhava* means of realisation, the former two involve some mental activity like raising the vital energy, meditation with the help of letters, fixing mind at various vital points, thereby reaching the apprehension of reality beyond the range of previous means and the last frees the mind of all ideation, leading the aspirat to the inner reality directly, also known as *anupāya,* the natural, effortless state of being.

Serge Descy in *"Unknown and Personalism in the Theological Tradition of the Christian East"* deals with the theological tradition of the Christian east involving theological apophatism or unknowing and personal communication of God through his uncreated energies.

In *"Śaktipāta : Grace in Kashmir Śavism"* Janakinath Kaul makes the point that Kashmir Śaiva Mysticism or *trika* philosophy developed by absorbing concepts from all schools of Indian philosophy, mainly emphasising the Lord's grace which alone leads to monistic practices for self-realisation.

"Hadewijch of Antwerp and Hadewijch II"...... by odette Baumer-Despeigne discusses the mysticism of Being in the 13th Century in Belgium on the basis of three 14th century manuscripts of Hadewijch.

C. Murray Rogers in his *"Enclosed in God...."* discusses in detail the experiences of Julian of Norwich who lived in 14th century in the Cathedral city Norwich.

George Gispert - Sauch in *"The Active Mysticism of St. Ignatins Loyola,* discusses the mysticism of Ignatins who found the society of Jesus, also known as Jesuit order known for its mysticism of action and service, a lived experience, gained by ordering one's life.

Bettina Baumer in *"Aesthetics of Mysticism or Mysticism of Aesthetics,* discusses the typical approach of Kashmir Śaivism. According to this school of thought, beauty in creation arises by the participation of the First Cause making all things beautiful finding their place in the general order and harmony. The aesthetic experience has to be evaluated in the dynamic relationship of *prakāśa,* the light of consciousess that can be experieced with the help of its *Vimarśa* or inherent power of reflection".

Liberal education and spread of scientific temperament have cleared the field for the spirit of religion to strike roots and flourish. Effort for inter-religious understanding is the need of the hour. The next step in human development is co-ordination of science and spirituality or in-depth, serious study of man. Science, according to Shri Ramana Maharshi is the search for the real and avoidance of the unreal. As such it cannot refuse to probe the inner dimension of our being, if, as all masters of the living traditions on earth, have testified, the truth is suspected to lie within. If this true direction is adopted, science, will help man to live on earth as man, since so far it has successfully taught him how to fly in air like bird, swim in ocean like fish and explore the outer space like a celestical being.

A bibliography by R. Panikkar, appended at the end of the volume enhances the academic value of this remarkably readable and worth-meditating publication.

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***THE MERS OF SAURASHTRA : A Profile of Social, Economic and Political Status ;* by Harshad R. Trivedi, Pubd. by Devika Publications, Delhi, 110 096, 1999, pp. 10+326+one map, 10 photos, 34 illustrations & 42 tables, Price Rs. 800=00.**

The Mer community of Saurashtra region of the state of Gujarat is a very rich ethnic group. This community has attained respectable status as settled farmers in comparison to many ethnic communities in Gujarat. Hence the Mers of Saurashtra region of Gujarat deserve special attention. This has attracted Dr. Harshad Trivedi, a free-lancer social anthropologist, to focus his devoted attention on the study of this unique ethnic community, and at the same time engaging his whole carrier in problem oriented subjects such as sociology of urban planning, tribal land system including, study of ethnic groups of Gujarat. His recent areas of concern spill over to a theory of urban society and alienation, dowry and atrocities, et cetera. Varied academic interests inspired him to establish the 'Institute of Cultural and Urban Anthropology' in 1978 after settling in Ahmedabad.

Having published more than a dozen books and a good number of sociological papers in many research journals of repute, the subject close to his heart is the study of the Mers from different angles and perspectives, and for which he has religiously devoted nearly four decades of his precious life and has contributed three studies including the one under review. The other two are : (1) *The Mers of Saurashtra : An exposition of their social structure and organisation,* Faculty of Arts, M.S. University of Baroda, 1961, pp. 114, 9 plates. Originally this was a Ph.D. thesis. (2) *The Mers of Saurashtra* : Revisited and studied in the light of socio-cultural change and cross-cousin marriage, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1986, pp.120+12+maps, illustration & photos. The fourth one on *'Folk Art and Culture of Mers'* is to follow soon.

He visited the Mer region more than four times for intensive study by living in their habitat. Obviously, he is specially qualified to undertake this study and to analyse socio-economic changes that have taken place among the Mers of Saurashtra during the last half a century.

The Mers or Maher community mostly concentrated their life in the Porbandar District of Gujarat. The main traditional occupation of the Mers has been agriculture and animal husbandry. The social structure of the Mers is charaterised by the form of bilateral cross cousin marraiage. The basic trend is towards matriarchal structural relationship in the choice of marriage parteners. The basic kinship group is the nuclear family.

Divided into 14 exogamous lineages, each one of these is futher subdivided into minor or major segments. Out of these, four are outstanding in status on account of their population, land ownership and historical standing in the organisation of the Mer community. They are Odedra, Sisodiā, Keshwārā and Rājashākhā. Other ten lineages are Parmār, Wāghelā, Chuḍāsamā, Chauhān, Bhaṭṭī, Vālā, Jāḍejā, Solanki, Chāvaḍā and Wāḍher.

Most of the Mer households being economically weak, there was a strong tendency to borrow money from different sources for various purposes. The households usually incur debt for the purposes of trade and agriculture, socio-religous events, routine domestic needs and extreme circumstances such as draoght and pestilences. Sources of borrowing at present are cooperative societies, scheduled and land development banks for agriculture and trade. For social purpose, they depend on relatives and money-lenders.

The history and culture of the Mers have been quite rich and yet complex and difficult to outline precisely unless one takes up a special study of the same. And this onerous task was undertaken from documents by Dr. Harshad Trivedi and that, too, for nearly more than five decades ago. Generally a scholar takes up a subject once for research, gets a degree and then forgets the same. Even post-doctoral research hardly takes off on the same subject. But Dr. Trivedi does not belong to this breed. He first visited the community in 1951 and again in 1954, revisited it in 1980 and 1984, not contended yet, again revisited the region in 1993 and continued to refresh his study and updated his information till this date. And the fruits of his continuous search were the three books on the Mers as mentioned earlier and the study for the fourth one is ready for publication. This will, to the best of the reviewor's knowledge, be worthy of being considered by the Guinness Book of World Records.

The book under review is the studious account and analysis based on off-repeated fieldwork of life among the Mers, a powerful agricultural caste group claiming Rajput descent, as their lineages foretell, living in the wester corner of the peninsular Gujarat. This book comprises 14 chapters including the introductory one, seven appendices, bibliography and a list of the Mer photographs. These chapters are : (1) Background information, (2) General profile of households, (3) Economic pursuits of households, (4) Agriculture and Animal husbandry, (5) Elements of cross cousin marriage and kinship, (6) Salient features of social customs, lifestyle and leadership, (7) Caste study of an urban village, (8) Saga of ethno-political relationships I (1206 to 1795), (9) Saga of Ethno-political Relationships II (1817-1897), (10) Saga of Ethno-political relationships III (miscellaneous), (11) Social movement for education and welfare, (12) Family relationship and disputes, (13) From Sarvodaya to modernity.

The seven appendices are : (1) Historical data of B.L. Mankad, (2) Mers of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, (3) Racial and serelogical data, (4) Reviews of Mer books, (5) A note on field techniques and methods, (6) Dr. Vikran Godhani's correspondence with the author and (7) A note on declining flagrancy.

Looking through the titles of the chapters of this book along with appendices, it seems this work is complete in all respects, especially its appendices give the necessary and required information in regard to the Mer life and culture for which we have not to lay our hands on other works related to this study other than Dr. Trivedi's works. Quantitative data and tabulated information presented in this work give us authentic material and a wealth of information about the cultural development of this less known community of Gujarat. The study of the book helps us to know that despite the growth of their population they have been able to improve their economic condition and social status. This work definitely sheds good light on the life and culture of the Mers, especially interesting are the elements pertaining to cross-cousin marriages and kinship. Moreover, their participation in movements from Sarvodaya to modernity, including technical and higher education, health and social welfare, are enlightening. This means that the Mers are not static in their lifestyle and have moved faster in the direction of the development and growth towards the 21st century. They have clearly demonstrated that they want to live with time and aspire for developing innovative power by hard work and diligence.

The author's labour is quite evidently seen in this work. His presentation is simple but interesting. He leaves no stone unturned to get the relevent data by visiting the community repeatedly, which provides a rare of inspiration to young scholars. The value and charm of the book are highly commendable and enhanced by lively illustrations. It is hoped that the Mers will be grateful to the author for putting the profuse profile of their community on the world map of castes and tribes of India. This is really a nice contribution on the subject. The author deserves our special thanks for giving us such an interesting and lucid as well as comprehensive compendium of an ethnic community of great vitality.

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STUDIES IN PURĀṆAS, **by Prof. Dr. S.G. Kantawala, Published by Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, 56-57, Institutional Area, Janakpuri, New Delhi-110 058, First Edition, 1999, pp. I-V and 1-206, Price Rs. 100=00.**

The Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan undertook an ambitious admirable project of publishing fifty books, during the Golden Jubilee year of India's Independence. The present book is twentyseventh of that series. Also, this is the second book of the author, Prof. Dr. S.G. Kantawala, published in the same series, the earlier one being *"Legends in Purāṇas"*, published as no.17 of the series.

The Purāṇas are valuable records of diversified aspects of our culture, tradition, religion, philosophy, technical sciences and many other branches of knowledge. Prof. Kantawala had contributed several studied research articles on Purāṇic studies on various occasions, which were published in esteemed Journals. Just like his previous book, *"Legends in Purāṇas"*, this one also incorporates twelve important articles of Prof. Kantawala, nine of which (excepting first, eleventh & twelfth) are reprinted here from various Journals. The articles are - (I) Purāṇas - Introduction, (II) *Matsyapurāṇa* - A brief Review, (III) Cult of the Manes in the *Matsyapurāṇa,* (IV) Some Aspects of Purāṇic Religion, (V) Purāṇic Religion - Change and Continuity, (IV) Purāṇas on Pilgrimage - I, (VII) Purāṇas on pilgrimage - II, (VIII) *Prayāgamāhātmya* - A study, (IX) Some Purāṇic Records on Śūdras : A Brief Review, (X) Position and status of women in Purāṇas, (XI) Purāṇas - Sources of Ancient Indian History & Culture, (XII) Purāṇas of Gujarat.

These articles thus deal with manifold aspects like a general overview, religion, society, history, culture, tradition and even fields like archaeology etc. The subject matter is presented systematically, logically and methodically with appropriate and uptodate references to the related books and articles, authenticating the statements made. The author's particularly close study of various aspects of the *Matsyapurāṇa* is quite evident; nevertheless the references to other Purāṇas like the *Viṣṇupurāṇa,* the *Vāyupurāṇa,* the *Brahmapurāṇa* etc. are also quite numerous. The twelfth chapter is particularly interesting, which contains good information about "Purāṇas of Gujarat". As most of the articles are reprinted here from different Journals, published at several occasions, the repetition of some ideas was natural, when viewed from the point of view of the completeness of the unit of that particular article.

The book has an attractive colourful cover page. The printing is almost correct (with a few errors of proof-reading, unavoidable in the time-bound schedule). The book will be useful to the students and scholars of Purāṇas and other interested readers. The author and the publisher deserve our hearty congratulations for this book on Purāṇic studies.

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M.L. Wadekar

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THE BOOK OF LIFE : **by Roy Eugene Davis, Pubd. by M/s. Motilal Banarsidass, 41 U.A. Bungalow Road, Jawaharnagar, Delhi-110007, Ist edition : 1995, pp. 157, Price : Rs. 65=00.**

Roy Eugene Davis is a direct, personal disciple of Paramahaṁsa Yogānanda and a teacher of meditational practices and spiritual growth processes. In this book, he has given

"The everlasting way" to implement a life-style in harmony with natural laws. This is a small but significant book for awakened spiritual consciousness. The chapters included in the book are :

- Where are all the Saints ?
- What do you want ?
- What everyone should know About the Reality, Being, Life, Power and substance of God.
- Meditation for Life Enhancement and Illumination of Consciousness
- How to pray : With Results Following.
- The spiritual Baiss of Real and Permanent Prosperity.
- Healthy, Long Life with Enlightened purpose.

After these chapters, the author has given a proforma of practical Application in pages 135 to 142. These are the planning forms to choose and implement life style changes and practical programmes which will support and contribute to the spiritual growth.

The last chapter of the book is 'Our Awakening World'. In this chapter, the author says that : 'what the world needs most of all, is love'. The awakening spiritual consciousness results for ordered thinking, appropriate behaviours and ideal outcomes because of the ruling influence God's grace in our lives and in world affairs. Our best endeavours, cannot do what God's grace can do. (pp. 145-146).

Life itself is the "book" to be studied and its ways learnt and adapted to practical everyday relationships and endeavours. It is a fact that we are not mere mortals with wishful aspiration to divine status, but we are spiritual beings with all abilities which are awakened and expressed. The author's views regarding our life are as under :

Real fulfillment and true happiness cannot be experienced so long as we allow ourselves to be impelled by whims and sensory urges only or by the choices made by a confused mind (p.20).

The author says that according to theme of the *Bhagavadgītā*, "out of one thousand, one seeks the Turth; of those who seek, one here and there, per chance, realises the Truth" - a one-in-a-million successful enlightment quest perhaps (p.23).

Give up the old ways and embrace the new ones. Let sad moods and self-defeating attitudes and behaviours be consigned to the past (p.26).

The book is written with the understanding of human nature. For the spiritual

Awareness of mankind the author has done a lot and he is the author of many best selling books. It is right to say that "The Book of Life" is every one's common sense Guide to Purposeful Living & Spiritual Growth into the 21st Century and Beyond. We congratulate him and the publisher for the quality work like this.

Usha Brahmachari

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1. **The Afghan Connections, Indo-Afghan Relations in the Pre-Buddhist Era :** by P.V. Pathak, Pubd. by Prajna Prakashan, 48, Lokmanya Society, Pen, Dist. Raigadh, Pin Code - 402 107, First edition : 1999, pp. viii + 88, Price : Rs. 100=00.

2. **Before the Beginning and after the End :** by Rishi Kumar Mishra, Ed. by Vyvyan Cayley, Pubd. by Rupa and Co., 7/16, Makhanlal Street, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110 002, First edition : 2000, pp. xxii + 558, Price : Rs. 395=00.

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7. **Your Aura and Your Chakras :** by Karla Mclaren, Pub. As above, First edition : 2000, pp. xii + 291, Price : Rs. 150=00.

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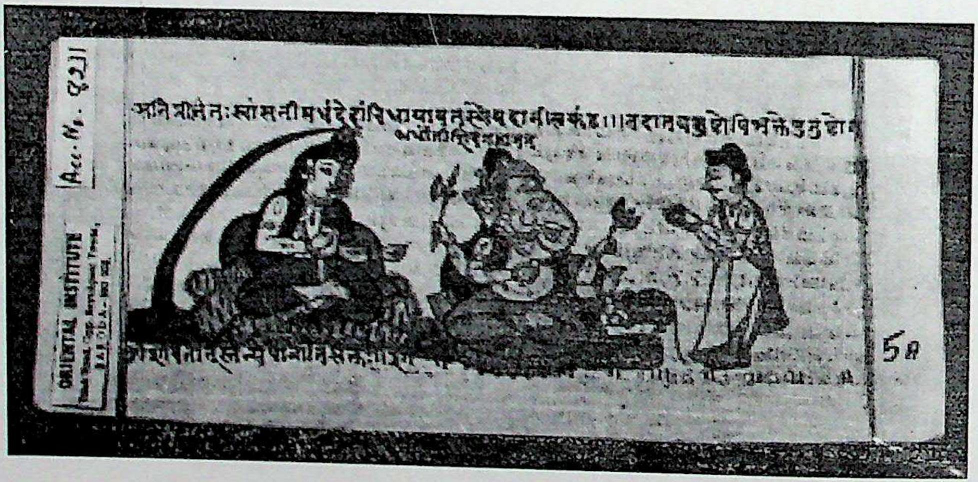

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